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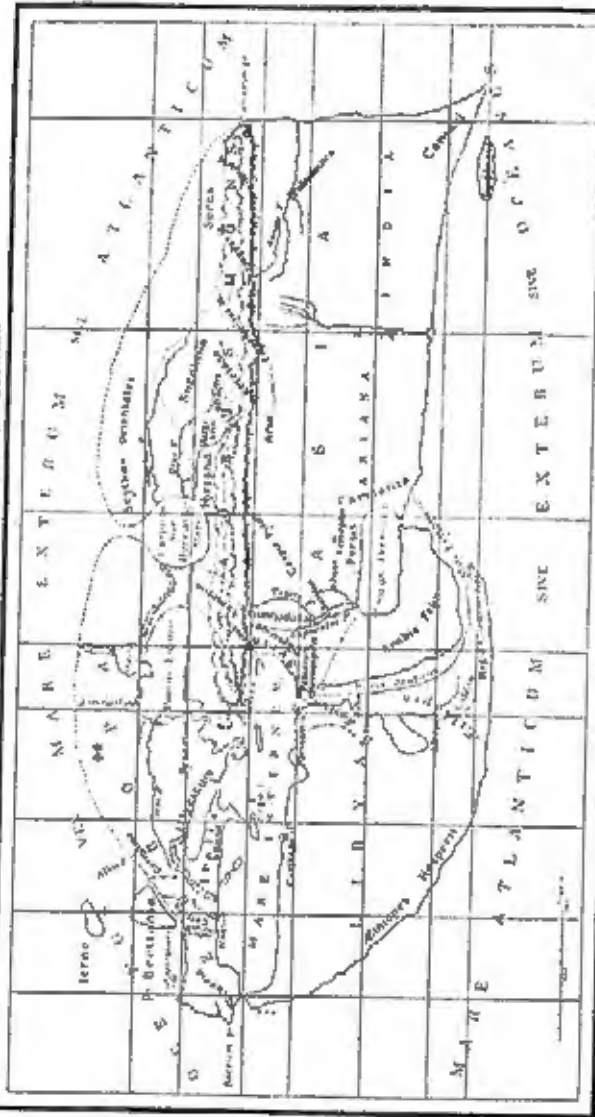
## THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

### I





# THE INHABITED WORLD ACCORDING TO STRABO



# THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO-VL I

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
HORACE LEONARD JONES, A.M., PH.D.

BASED IN PART UPON THE UNFINISHED VERSION OF  
JOHN ROBERT SITTLINGTON STERRETT  
F.R.S., LL.D.



910  
Strabon. vol. I. 2. 12/12

LONDON  
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
MOMKHX



*First printed, 1917  
Revised and reprinted, 1931  
Reprinted, 1949*

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## PREFACE

PROFESSOR JOHN ROBERT SITTLINGTON STERRETT, the eminent scholar who was originally chosen by the Editors of the Loeb Classical Library to prepare this edition of Strabo, died suddenly on June 15, 1914. His many friends and colleagues in the world of scholarship were greatly disappointed that he was thus prevented from bringing to a happy completion a task which would have been a fitting consummation of a long and notable career. In accordance with a desire he expressed to me shortly before his death, and at the invitation of the Editors, I have ventured, not without misgivings, to carry on the work from the point where his labours ceased.

The Introduction and the Bibliography remain substantially as they were left by Professor Sterrett; and the translation of the first two books, contained in Volume I., not only is indebted to him for much of its diction, but reveals in other elements of style many traces of his individuality. Nevertheless the

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present version, a fairly literal one perhaps, is so remote from the free rendering of Professor Sterrett, above all in the technical passages, that it would be unjust to hold him responsible for any mistakes or unfelicities which the reader may now detect. The Editors, it is true, at first requested me merely to revise and see through the press the first two books as Professor Sterrett had left them, and then to proceed independently with the remaining fifteen; yet upon a closer examination of his work both they and I decided that to revise it for publication would be impossible without destroying its quality and aim, at all events for a new translator of the whole. The Editors then decided, in view of the purposes of the Loeb Library and for the sake of unity in the work as a whole, to proceed as the title-page indicates; and hence, in order to avoid the danger of attributing to Professor Sterrett a method of interpretation for which he should not be held accountable, the present translator has been forced to assume all the responsibility from the beginning—for the first two books as well as the rest.

In constituting the Greek text I have tried to take into account the work that has been done by scholars, not only since the appearance of Muncke's edition, but prior to that edition as well. The map  
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of The Inhabited World according to Strabo (drawn by Mr. L. A. Lawrence of Cornell University) is adapted partly from the *Orbis Terrarum secundum Strabonem* of C. Müller and partly from that of W. Sieglin.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to my colleagues, Professor Lane Cooper and Professor Joseph Quincy Adams, of Cornell University, for their criticism of the translation, and also to Professor Ora M. Leland, for assistance in technical problems related to astronomy. But above all, I desire to record an incalculable debt of gratitude to my lamented friend, Professor Sterrett, who, in the relation first of teacher and later of colleague, was to me, as to many others, an unfailing source of inspiration and encouragement.

H. L. J.

April, 1916.



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## INTRODUCTION

WHAT is known about Strabo must be gleaned from his own statements scattered up and down the pages of his Geography, this is true not merely of his lineage, for we also learn much by inference concerning his career and writings. Dorylaus, surnamed Tacticus or the General, is the first of the maternal ancestors of Strabo to be mentioned by him, in connexion with his account of Cnossus (10. 4. 10). This Dorylaus was one of the officers and friends of Mithridates Euergetes, who sent him on frequent journeys to Thrace and Greece to enlist mercenary troops for the royal army. At that time the Romans had not yet occupied Crete, and Dorylaus happened to put in at Cnossus at the outbreak of a war between Cnossus and Gortyna. His prestige as a general caused him to be placed in command of the Cnossian army, his operations resulted in a sweeping victory for Cnossus, and great honours were heaped upon him in consequence. At that juncture Euergetes was assassinated at Sinope, and as Dorylaus had nothing to hope for from the widowed queen and young children of the dead king, he cast in his lot permanently with the Cnossians. He married at



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CROSSUS, where were born his one daughter and two sons, Lagetas and Stratarchas. Their very names indicate the martial proclivities of the family. Stratarchas was already an aged man when Strabo saw him. Mithridates, surnamed Eupator and the Great, succeeded to the throne of Buergetes at the early age of eleven years. He had been brought up with another Dorylaeus, who was the nephew of Dorylaeus the general. When Mithridates had become king, he showed his affection for his playmate Dorylaeus, by showering honours upon him, and by making him priest of Ma at Caniana Pontica—a dignity which caused Dorylaeus to rank immediately after the king. But not content with that, Mithridates was desirous of conferring benefactions upon the other members of his friend's family. Dorylaeus, the general, was dead, but Lagetas and Stratarchas, his sons, now grown to manhood, were summoned to the court of Mithridates. "The daughter of Lagetas was the mother of my mother," says Strabo. As long as fortune smiled on Dorylaeus, Lagetas and Stratarchas continued to fare well, but ambition led Dorylaeus to become a traitor to his royal master, he was convicted of plotting to surrender the kingdom to the Romans, who, it seems, had agreed to make him king in return for his treasonable service. The details of the sequel are not known; for all that Strabo thinks it worth while to say is that the two men went down into obscurity and discredit along with Dorylaeus (10. 4. 10). These ancestors of Strabo

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were Greeks, but Asiatic blood also flowed in his veins. When Mithridates annexed Colchis, he realized the importance of appointing as governors of the province only his most faithful officials and friends. One of these governors was Moaphernes, the uncle of Strabo's mother on her father's side (II 2. 18). Moaphernes did not attain to this exalted station until towards the close of the reign of Mithridates, and he shared in the ruin of his royal master. But other members of the family of Strabo escaped that ruin, for they foresaw the downfall of Mithridates, and sought cover from the impending storm. One of them was Strabo's paternal grandfather, Aeniatas by name (if the conjecture of Ettore Pais be accepted). Aeniatas had private reasons for hating Mithridates, and, besides that, Mithridates had put to death Tibius, the nephew of Aeniatas, and Tibius' son Theophilus. Aeniatas therefore sought to avenge both them and himself, he treasonably surrendered fifteen fortresses to Lucullus, who made him promises of great advancement in return for this service to the Roman cause. But at this juncture Lucullus was superseded by Pompey, who hated Lucullus and regarded as his own personal enemies all those who had rendered noteworthy service to his predecessor. Pompey's hostility to Aeniatas was not confined to the persecution of him in Asia Minor, for, when he had returned to Rome after the termination of the war, he prevented the Senate from conferring the honours promised by

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Lucillus to certain men in Pontus, on the ground that the spoils and honours should not be awarded by Lucillus, but by himself, the real victor. And so it came about that Strabo's grandfather failed of the reward of his treason (12. 3. 13). A further proof of the existence of Asiatic blood in the veins of Strabo is the name of his kinsman Tibius, for, says Strabo, the Athenians gave to their slaves the names of the nations from which they came, or else the names that were most current in the countries from which they came, for instance, if the slave were a Paphlagonian, the Athenians would call him Tibius (7. 8. 12). Thus it appears that Strabo was of mixed lineage, and that he was descended from illustrious Greeks and Asiatics who had served the kings of Pontus as generals, satraps, and priests of *Ma*. But by language and education he was thoroughly Greek.

Strabo was born in Amasia in Pontus in 64 or 63 *b.c.* (the later date being the year of Cicero's consulate). It is plain that his family had managed to amass property, and Strabo must have inherited considerable wealth, for his fortune was sufficient to enable him to devote his life to scholarly pursuits and to travel somewhat extensively. His education was elaborate, and Greek in character. When he was still a very young man he studied under Aristodemus in Nympha near Tralles in Caria (14. 1. 48). His parents may have removed from Amasia to Nympha in consequence of the embarrassing conditions

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brought about by the victories of Pompey, the enemy of their house, but the boy may have been sent to study in Nysa before the overthrow of Mithridates the Great, and, if so, he was probably sent thither because one of his kinsmen held high office in the neighbouring Tralles. Ettore Pais points out that, when Mithridates the Great ordered the killing of the Roman citizens in Asia, Theophilus, a Captain in service in Tralles, was employed by the Trallians to do the killing. It seems probable that this Theophilus was the kinsman of Strabo, and the same person who was afterwards executed by Mithridates, an execution that caused Strabo's paternal grandfather to betray the king and desert to Lucullus.

In 44 B.C. Strabo went to Rome by way of Corinth. It was at Rome that he met Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, and that general died in 44 B.C. (This was also the year of the death of Caesar.) Strabo was nineteen or twenty years old at the time of his first visit to Rome. In connexion with his account of Amisus (12. 3. 16) we read that Strabo studied under Tyrannion. That instruction must have been received at Rome, for in 66 B.C. Lucullus had taken Tyrannion as a captive to Rome, where he gave instruction, among others, to the two sons of Cicero. It is Cicero (*Ad Att.* 2. 8. 1) who tells us that Tyrannion was also a distinguished geographer, and he may have guided Strabo into the paths of geographical study. It was probably also at Rome that Strabo had the good fortune to attend

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the lectures of Xenarchus (14 5. 4), the Peripatetic philosopher; for he tells us that Xenarchus abandoned Seleucia, his native place, and lived in Alexandria, Athens, and Rome, where he followed the profession of teacher. He also tells us that he "Aristotelized" along with Boëthius (the Stoic philosopher of Sidon), or, in other words, under Xenarchus in Rome (16. 2. 24). Strabo knew Posidonius (7 fr. 60, quoted from Athenæus 14. 75 p. 657), and it has been argued from that statement that Posidonius, too, was one of Strabo's teachers. But in spite of the fact that his teachers were Peripatetics, there can be no doubt that he was himself an adherent of Stoicism. He confesses himself a Stoic (7 3. 4), he speaks of "our Zeno" (1 2. 34), again, he says, "For in Posidonius there is much inquiry into causes and much imitating of Aristotle—precisely what our School avoids, on account of the obscurity of the causes" (2 3. 8). Stephanus Byzantine calls him "the Stoic philosopher." Strabo lets his adherence to Stoicism appear on many occasions, and he even contrasts the doctrines of Stoicism with those of the Peripatetic School. What had brought about his conversion cannot be ascertained. It may have been due to Athenodorus, for in his account of Petra he says that it is well-governed, and "my friend Athenodorus, the philosopher, has spoken to me of that fact with admiration" (16. 4. 31). This philosopher-friend was the Stoic Athenodorus, the teacher and friend of Augustus. Strabo makes his

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position in regard to the popular religion quite clear in several passages, he insists that while such religion is necessary in order to hold the illiterate in check, it is unworthy of the scholar. "For in dealing with a crowd of women, at least, or with any promiscuous mob, a philosopher cannot influence them by reason or exhort them to reverence, piety, and faith, nay, there is need of religious fear also, and this cannot be aroused without myths and marvels. For thunderbolt, aegis, trident, torches, snakes, thyrsus-lances,—arms of the gods—are myths, and so is the entire ancient theology" (1 2. 8). In speaking of the supposed religiosity of the Getans (7 3. 4) he quotes Menander to the effect that the observances of public worship are ruining the world financially, and he gives a somewhat gloomy picture of the absence of real religion behind those same observances of public worship. Yet Strabo had a religion, and even though he believed that causes are past finding out, he nevertheless believed in Providence as the great First Cause. He sets forth the Stoic doctrine of "conformity to nature" at some length in speaking of Egypt (17 1. 36), and he also adverts to it in his account of the river-system of France (4. 1. 14).

As for his political opinions, he seems to have followed Polybius in his profound respect for the Romans, with whom, apparently, he is in entire sympathy, he never fails to show great admiration, not only for the political grandeur of the Roman

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Empire, but for its wise administration as well, he is convinced of the necessity of a central monarchical power. "The excellence of the government and of the Roman Emperors has prevented Italy (which has often been torn by civil war from the very time when it became subject to Rome), and even Rome itself, from proceeding further in the ways of error and corruption. But it would be difficult for the Romans to govern so vast an empire in any other way than by entrusting it to one person—as it were, to a father. And certainly at no other period have the Romans and their allies enjoyed such perfect peace and prosperity as that which the Emperor Augustus gave them from the very moment when he was clothed with autocratic power, a peace which Tiberius, his son and successor, continues to give them at the present moment; for he makes Augustus the pattern in his policy and administration, and Germanicus and Drusus, the sons of Tiberius, who are now serving in the government of their father, also make Augustus their pattern" (6. 4. 2). And he constantly takes the Roman point of view. For instance, in leading up to his account of the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, he tells us that the Corinthians had perpetrated manifold outrages on the Romans; he does indeed mention the feeling of pity to which Polybius gave expression in telling of the sack of Corinth, and says that Polybius was horrified at the contempt shown by the Roman soldiery for the sacred offerings and the masterpieces

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of art, "for Polybius says he personally saw how paintings had been thrown to the ground and saw the soldiers playing dice on them." But Strabo gives us to understand that his own private feeling is that the Corinthians were merely paying for the many insults they had heaped on the Romans (8. 6. 23). He is equally dispassionate in telling of the Roman conquest of his own native country (12. 3. 33). He seems to be thoroughly Roman at heart, for the Romans have united the world under one beneficent administration (1. 1. 16), by the extinction of the pirates the Roman peace has brought prosperity, tranquillity, security to commerce, and safety of travel (3. 2. 5, 14. 3. 3, 16. 2. 20), a country becomes prosperous just as soon as it comes under the Roman sway (3. 3. 8), which opens up means of inter-communication (2. 5. 26), friendship and alliance with Rome mean prosperity to the people possessing them (3. 1. 8, 4. 1. 5), so does the establishment of a Roman colony in any place (6. 3. 4).

We have seen that Strabo went to Rome in 44 a.c., and that he was nineteen or twenty years old at that time. He made several other journeys to Rome—we find him there in 35 a.c., for that is the date of the execution of Selarus (6. 2. 8), which Strabo witnessed. He was then twenty-nine years old. He was in Rome about 31 a.c., for he saw the painting of Dionysus by Aristides (one of those paintings seen by Polybius at the sack of Corinth) in the temple of Ceres in Rome, and he adds: "But



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recently the temple was destroyed by fire, and the painting perished" (8. 6. 23). It is known from Dio Cassius (50. 10) that the temple of Ceres was burned in 31 a.c. He was thirty-two or thirty three years old at that time. We know of still another journey to Rome "I landed on the island of Gyarus where I found a small village inhabited by fishermen, when we sailed from the island, we took on board one of those fishermen who had been sent on a mission to Augustus (who was then at Corinth, on his way [from Egypt] to celebrate his triumph after his victory at Actium). On the voyage we questioned this fisherman, and he told us that he had been sent to ask for a diminution of the tribute" (10. 5. 3). Here we find Strabo journeying from Asia Minor, by way of the island of Gyarus and Corinth, and the clear inference is that he was on his way to Rome at the time. This was in 29 a.c., and Strabo was thirty-four or thirty-five years old. Augustus had just founded Neapolis in honour of his victory at Actium (7. 7. 6), and it is not unlikely that Strabo visited the new city on that voyage. In 25 and 24 a.c. he is in Egypt, and accompanies Aelius Gallus up the Nile, proceeding as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia (2. 5. 12). At that time he was thirty-nine years old. He was still in Egypt when Augustus was in Samos in 20 a.c. (14. 1. 14). He was then forty-four years old. Accordingly he lived for more than five years in Alexandria, and we may infer that it was in the

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Alexandrian library that he made from the works of his predecessors those numerous excerpts with which his book is filled. We find him again in Rome about 7 a.c., for in his description of Rome he mentions buildings that were erected after 20 a.c., the last of them being the portico of Livia, which was dedicated in 7 a.c. (63 B). This was perhaps his final visit to Rome, and he was then fifty six or fifty seven years old. It seems that he lived to be eighty four years old, for he chronicles the death of Juba in 21 a.d., but the last twenty-six or twenty-seven years of his life were spent far from Rome, and probably in his native Amasia. His residence at this remote place made it impossible for him to follow the course of recent political events and to incorporate them in the revised edition of his book.

Strabo thought that he had travelled much. He says "Now I shall tell what part of the land and sea I have myself visited and concerning what part I have trusted to accounts given by others by word of mouth or in writing. I have travelled westward from Armenia as far as the coasts of Tyrrhenia opposite Sardinia, and in the direction of the South I have travelled from the Euxine Sea as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia. And you could not find another person among the writers on Geography who has travelled over much more of the distances just mentioned than I; indeed, those who have travelled more than I in the western regions have not covered as much ground in the east, and those who have travelled

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more in the eastern countries are behind me in the western countries, and the same holds true in regard to the regions towards the South and North" (2 S. 11). And yet it cannot be said that he was a great traveller; nor can it be said that he travelled for the purpose of scientific research—the real reason for his journeys will presently appear. He saw little even of Italy, where he seems to have followed without much deviation the roads Brindis-Rome, Rome-Naples-Putcoli, and Rome-Popolonia. It does not appear that he lived for any very long stretch of time at Rome, and it cannot be maintained with positiveness that in Greece he saw any place other than Corinth—not even Athens, strange as this may seem. In the South and the East his travels were more extensive: in the South he visited the Nile valley as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia, he was at Comana Aurea for some time, he saw the river Pyramus, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Nysa in Caria, and Ephesus, he was acquainted with Pontus, he visited Sinope, Cyzicus, and Nicæa, he travelled over Cilicia and much of Caria, visiting Myasa, Aialanda, Tralles, and probably also Synnada, Magnesia, Smyrna, the shores of the Euxine, and Beirut in Syria. Though we may not limit the places he saw to the places actually mentioned as having been seen by him, still it is clear that his journeys were not so wide as we should have expected in the case of a man who was travelling in the interest of science.

Ettore Pais seems to make good his contention that  
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the work of Strabo was not written by a man who was travelling on his own account and for scientific reasons, but by one who seized every occasion to study what circumstances and the pleasure of others gave him an opportunity of knowing. He contends, further, that it was for the sake of others that Strabo made his journeys, that he was instructor and politician, travelling perhaps with, and certainly in the interest of, persons of the most exalted rank, that he was the teacher and guide of eminent men. Strabo never fails to mention the famous scholars and teachers who were born in the East—the list is a long one, and we are fain to believe that he occupied a similar social position. He insists that his Geography is political. The greater part of Geography subserves the uses of states and their rulers, Geography as a whole is intimately connected with the functions of persons in positions of political leadership (1. 1. 16), Geography is particularly useful in the conduct of great military undertakings (1. 1. 17), it serves to regulate the conduct and answer the needs of ruling princes (1. 1. 18). Presumably it was with just such people that he travelled. But Pais joins issue with Niebuhr and others in their contention that the men with whom and in whose interest he traveled were Romans, and he makes out a good case when he argues that Strabo wrote his Geography in the interest of Pythodoria, Queen of Pontus. Even the great respect shown by Strabo for Augustus, Rome, and Tiberius is to be explained

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by the circumstances in which he found himself, for subject-princes had to be obsequious to Rome, and as for Ptochodorus, she owed her throne to Augustus fully as much as to Polemon. It was good business, therefore, that necessitated the retouching of the book and the insertion in it of the many compliments to Tiberius—all of which were added after the accession of that prince, and for fear of him, rather than out of respect for him.

The question as to when and where Strabo wrote his geographical work has long been a burning one in circles interested in Strabo criticism. Niebuhr seemed to settle the question, when he maintained that Strabo wrote his *Historical Geography* at Rome, at the instigation of Roman friends who occupied exalted positions in the political world of Rome, and that he acted as the companion of those friends, accompanying one of them, Aelius Gallus, from Rome to Egypt, and returning with him to Rome, and further that it was at Rome that he wrote his *Geography*, between the years 18 and 19 A.D. In the main, scholars had accepted the views of Niebuhr, until Pail entered the field with his thesis that Strabo wrote his work, not at the instigation of politicians at Rome, but from the point of view of a Greek from Asia Minor, and in the interest of Greeks of that region, that the material for the *Geography* was collected at Alexandria and Rome, but that the actual writing of the book and the retouching of it at a later period were done at Amasa, far from Rome—

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a fact which accounts for his omissions of events, his errors, his misstatements, his lack of information concerning, and his failure to mention, occurrences that would surely have found a place in his book if it had been written in Rome. It accounts, too, for the surprising fact that Strabo's Geography was not known to the Romans—not even to Pliny—although it was well known in the East, for Josephus quotes from it.

To go somewhat more minutely into this question, it may be stated that Strabo mentions Tiberius more than twenty times, but the events he describes are all connected with the civil wars that occurred after the death of Caesar and with the period in the life of Augustus that falls between the Battle of Actium (in 31 a.c.) and 7 a.c. He rarely mentions events in the life of Augustus between 6 a.c. and 14 a.d., and, as he takes every opportunity to praise Augustus and Tiberius, such omissions could not be accounted for if he wrote his Geography about 18 a.d. The conclusion reached by Pals is that Strabo wrote the book before 6 a.c. and shortly after 9 a.c., or, in other words, about 7 a.c. Such matters as the defeat of Varus and the triumph of Germanicus were not contained in the original publication of the work, and were inserted in the revised edition, which was made about the year 18 a.d. The list of the Roman provinces governed by the Roman Senate, on the last page of the book, was written between 22 a.c. and 11 a.c., and Strabo himself says that it was

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antiquated, it was retouched about 7 a.c., not at Rome, but far from Rome. The facts are similar in the mention he makes of the liberality of Ilierina to the cities of Asia Minor that had been destroyed by earthquakes, in the case of the coronation of Zeno as king of Armenia Major (18 a.d.), and in the case of the death of Juba, which occurred not later than 23 a.d., Strabo made no use of the map of Agrippa—an omission with which he has been reproached—for the very good reason that the map of Agrippa had not been completed in 7 a.c.

If Strabo first published his Geography in 7 a.c., it appeared when he was fifty-six or fifty-seven years old, at a time when he was still in full possession of all his physical and mental powers. But if we say, with Niebuhr and his followers, that the work was written between 18 and 19 a.d., we thereby maintain that Strabo began to write his Geography when he had passed the eighth decade of his life. He himself compares his book to a colossal statue, and it is incredible that he could have carried out such a stupendous work after having passed his eightieth year.

Strabo is so well known as a geographer that it is often forgotten that he was a historian before he was a geographer. Indeed it may be believed that he is a geographer because he had been a historian, and that the material for his Geography was collected along with that for his Historical Sketches, which comprised forty-seven books (see xxvi

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I 1. 22-23, and 2. 1 9, and footnotes). But his Geography alone has come down to us. In this connexion it will be useful to read Strabo's own account of his Historical Sketches and his Geography. "In short, this book of mine should be generally useful useful alike to the statesman and to the public at large—as was my work on *History*. In this work, as in that, I mean by 'statesman, not the man who is wholly uneducated but the man who has taken the round of courses usual in the case of freemen or of students of philosophy. For the man who has given no thought to virtue and to practical wisdom, and to what has been written about them, would not be able even to form a valid opinion either in censure or in praise, nor yet to pass judgment upon the matters of historical fact that are worthy of being recorded in this treatise. And so, after I had written my *Historical Sketches*, which have been useful, I suppose, for moral and political philosophy, I determined to write the present treatise also, for this work itself is based on the same plan, and is addressed to the same class of readers, and particularly to men of exalted stations in life. Furthermore, just as in my *Historical Sketches* only the incidents in the lives of distinguished men are recorded, while deeds that are petty and ignoble are omitted, so in this work also I must leave untouched what is petty and inconspicuous, and devote my attention to what is noble and great, and to what contains the practically useful, or memorable, or



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entertaining. Now just as in judging of the merits of colossal statues we do not examine each individual part with minute care, but rather consider the general effect and endeavour to see if the statue as a whole is pleasing, so should this book of mine be judged. For it, too, is a colossal work, in that it deals with the facts about large things only, and wholes, except as some petty thing may stir the interest of the studious or the practical man. I have said thus much to show that the present work is a serious one and one worthy of a philosopher" (1 1. 23-23).

The Geography of Strabo is far more than a mere geography. It is an encyclopædia of information concerning the various countries of the Inhabited World as known at the beginning of the Christian era; it is an historical geography, and, as Dubois and Tozer point out, it is a philosophy of geography.

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### Major Findings

Brahm was not much read in authority. In a sense he was  
 a very able statesman, and his word was law,  
 and of course at one time the great minister, I think it was  
 the so-called "Munshi", from whom we get the name, a man  
 of great ability. This second one was a man of  
 moderate talents, but the first the true Brahman.  
 All the gaps in the great gap at the end of the  
 seventh is a reproduction of the manuscript. The  
 manuscript with the original text of the "Kama" are  
 based on the Sanskrit manuscript. The "Kama" for the first time  
 would be a very good one. The "Kama" are not in  
 the Sanskrit manuscript. The "Kama" are not in  
 and on the Venetian manuscript. The "Kama" are not in  
 which goes back to the 10th century. The "Kama" are not in  
 on a manuscript which also contained the name of Bhaskara.

- [illegible]

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### EARLY TRANSLATIONS

The Latin translation by Guarinus Veronensis and Gregorius Tifernas appears in Rome in 1472, i.e., more than forty years before the publication of the Aldine Greek text. The translation was made from better manuscripts than that used in the Aldine edition, but these have since perished. The first ten books were translated by Guarinus and the remainder by Tifernas. This translation was revised by J. Andreas



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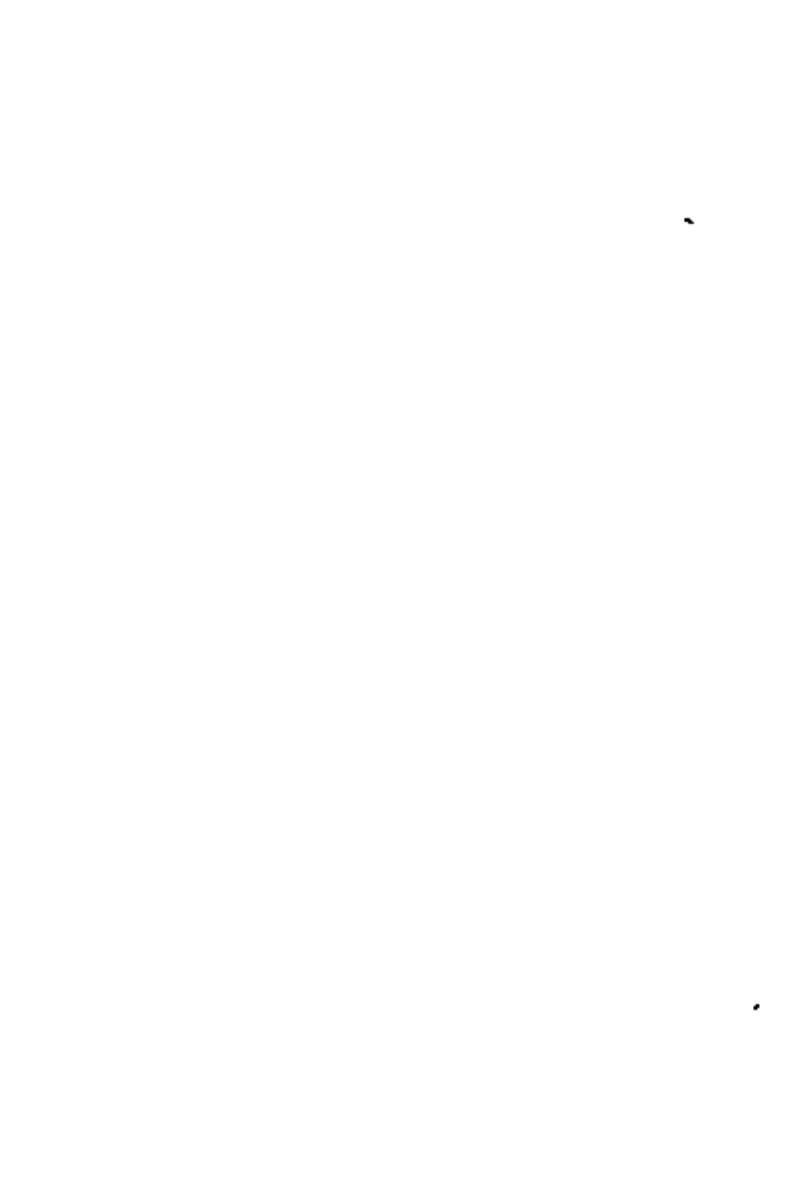
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THE  
GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO  
BOOK I

# ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ

Α'

Ι

- Ο 1 1. Τῆς τοῦ φιλοσόφου πραγματείας εἶναι νομίζομεν, ἅπερ ἄλλην τινά, καὶ τὴν γεωγραφικὴν, ἣν νῦν προσηρήμεθα ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι ὃ οὐ φαύλως νομίζομεν, ἐκ πολλῶν δῆλον. οἳ τε γὰρ πρῶτοι θαρρησαντες αὐτῆς ἁψασθαι τοιοῦτοι δὴ τινες<sup>1</sup> ὑπῆρξαν· Ὀμηρὸς τε καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἐκαταῖος, ὁ πολίτης αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης φησί· καὶ Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ
- Ο 2 Εὐδόξος καὶ Δικαίλαρχος καὶ Ἐφορος καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μετὰ τούτους, Ἐρατοσθένης τε καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, ἄνδρες φιλοσοφοί, ἥ τε πολυμαθεῖα, δι' ἧς μόντης ἐφικέσθαι τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου δυνατόν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐστίν, ἢ τοῦ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐπιβλέποντος, ὧνπερ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμην φασίν. ὥς ὃ αὐτῶς καὶ ἡ ὠφέλεια ποικίλη τις οὖσα, ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰς ηγεμονικὰς πράξεις, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην τῶν τε οὐρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν καὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> τοιοῦτοι δὴ τινες, Corais, on MS, authority, for τοιοῦτοι τινες. <sup>2</sup> τὰς πολιτικὰς, Sprengel, for τὰ πολιτικά.

# THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

## BOOK I

### I

1. THE science of Geography, which I now propose to investigate, is, I think, quite as much as any other science, a concern of the philosopher; and the correctness of my view is clear for many reasons. In the first place, those who in earliest times ventured to treat the subject were, in their way, philosophers—Homer, Anaximander of Miletus, and Anaximander's fellow-citizen Hecataeus—just as Eratosthenes has already said; philosophers, too, were Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicaearchus, Ephorus, with several others of their times; and further, their successors—Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Posidonius—were philosophers. In the second place, wide learning, which alone makes it possible to undertake a work on geography, is possessed solely by the man who has investigated things both human and divine—knowledge of which, they say, constitutes philosophy. And so, too, the utility of geography—and its utility is manifold, not only as regards the activities of statesmen and commanders but also as regards knowledge both of the heavens and of things on land and sea, animals, plants, fruits, and everything else to be seen in

ἄλλων, ὅσα ἰδεῖν παρ' ἑκάστοις ἐστί, τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει ἄνδρα, τὸν φροντίζοντα τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον τέχνης καὶ εὐδαιμονίας

2. Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπισκοπῶμεν τῶν εἰρημένων ἕτι μᾶλλον. καὶ πρῶτον ὅτι ὀρθῶς ὑπειληφάμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ὧν ἐστί καὶ Ἰππαρχος, ἀρχηγέτην εἶναι τῆς γεωγραφικῆς ἐμπειρίας Ὅμηρον· δε οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ποιήσειν ἀρετῇ πάντας ὑπερβέβληται τοὺς πύλαι καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐμπειρίᾳ τὸν πολιτικόν, ἀφ' ἧς οὐ μόνον περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐσπουδασεν ἐκεῖνος, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστας γνοίῃ καὶ παραδῶσει τοῖς ὕστερον ἐσαμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς τε καθ' ἑκάστα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ σύμπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων αὐτῆς περιότων ἀφίκετο τῇ μνήμῃ κύκλῳ περιων.

3. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ ὠκεανῷ περίκλυστον, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἀπέφαινε αὐτήν· ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν χωρίων τὰ μὲν ὠνομαζε, τὰ δὲ ὑπηνίττετο τεκμηρίοις τισί, Λιβυὴν μὲν καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβούς, οὓς εἰκὸς λέγειν Τρωγλοδίτας Ἀραβας, ῥητῶς λέγων, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ δυσσεῖν αἰνιττόμενος ἐκ τοῦ τῷ ὠκεανῷ κλύεσθαι. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἀνίσχοντα ποιεῖ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> For Strabo's definition of Libya see 17. 3. 1.

various regions—the utility of geography I say previously. The geographer for the same purposes the man who is concerned with the investigation of the art of life that is of happiness.

2 But I must go back and consider each one of those points in greater detail and first I say that both I and my predecessors, one of whom was Hipparchus, are agreed in regarding Homer as the founder of the science of geography for Homer has surpassed all men but of ancient and modern times, not only in the richness of his poetry but also I think in his sagacity and wit in that pertaining to geography. And this argument made him boast himself not only about poetic activities, to the end that he might boast of as many of them as possible and give an account of them to posterity but also about the geography both of the individual countries and of the inhabited world at large both land and sea for otherwise he would not have gone to the attempt of laying out the inhabited world, encompassing the whole of it in his description.

3 In the first place Homer declares that the inhabited world is washed on all sides by Ocean and this is true and then he mentions some of the countries by name while he leaves us to infer the other countries from hints for instance, he expressly mentions Libya Ethiopia Sidonia and Phoenicia and the Phoenicians he probably means Arabian Troglodytes<sup>1</sup>—whereas he only indicates in general terms the people who live in the far east and the far west by saying that their countries are washed by Oceanus. For he makes the men in

<sup>1</sup> "Cerauntians" They lived on the western shore of the Red Sea.

ἥλιον καὶ δυνάμενον εἰς τοῦτον, ὥς δ' αὖτως καὶ τὰ  
ἀστρα·

ἥλιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας,<sup>1</sup>  
ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείτας βαθυρρεον Ὀκεανοῦ

(II. 7. 421)

ἐν δ' ἔπειτα Ὀκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φῶς ἡλίοιο,  
ἔλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν.<sup>2</sup>

(II. 8. 485)

καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας δὲ<sup>3</sup> λαλουμένους ἐξ Ὀκεανοῦ  
λέγειν. (II. 6. 8)

4. Τῶν δ' ἐσπερίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν  
ἐμφανίζει καὶ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τοῦ περιέχοντος,  
πεπυσμένος, ὥς ἔοικε, τον Ἰβηρικὸν πλοῦτον, ἐφ'  
ὃν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστράτευσε καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες ὑπε-  
ρσαν, οἵπερ ἀρχὴν<sup>4</sup> καὶ κατέσχον τὴν πλείστην  
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αἱ τοῦ  
Ο 8 Ζεφυροῦ πνοαί. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἡλύσιον  
ποιεῖ πεδίον ὁ ποιητής, εἰς δ' πεμφθήσεσθαι φησι  
τὸν Μανέλαον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν·

ἀλλὰ σ' ἐν Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης  
ἀθάνατοι κέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς,  
τῇ περ ῥήϊστη βιοτὴ πέλει·

οὐ νιφετός, οὐτ' ἀρ' χειμῶν πολὺς,  
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λυγρὸ πνεῖοντος<sup>5</sup> ἀήτας

Ὀκεανὸς ἀνέησι. (Od. 4. 563)

5. Καὶ αἱ τῶν μακάρων δὲ νῆσοι πρὸ τῆς  
Μαυρουσίας εἰς τῆς ἐσχατῆς πρὸς δύσιν, καθ'

<sup>1</sup> ἀρούρας, the reading of B, for ἀρούρας.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke deletes both quotations, C. Müller, Cobet, approving, A. Müller defends the quotations.

<sup>3</sup> εἰ, Cobet inserts, after ἀνέησι.

rise out of Oceanus and to set in Oceanus, and he refers in the same way to the constellations. "Now the sun was just beating on the fields as he climbed heaven from the deep stream of gently flowing Oceanus." "And the sun's bright light dropped into Oceanus drawing black night across the earth. And he declares that the stars also rise from Oceanus "after having bathed in Oceanus."

4. As for the people of the west, Homer makes plain that they were prosperous and that they lived in a temperate climate—doubtless having heard of the wealth of Iberia, and how, in quest of that wealth Heracles invaded the country and after him the Phoenicians also, the people who in earliest times became masters of most of the country it was at a later date that the Romans occupied it. For in the west the breezes of Zephyrus blow, and there it is that Homer places the Euxine Plain itself, to which he declares Menelaos was sent by the gods. "But the deathless gods winter country there to the Euxine Plain and the ends of the earth, where is Khadamanthys of the far hair where life is sweet. No snow is there nor yet great storm, but always Oceanus sendeth forth the breezes of the clear-blowing<sup>2</sup> Zephyrus."

5. And, too, the Islands of the West<sup>3</sup> lie to the westward of most western Maurusia,<sup>4</sup> that is, west

<sup>1</sup> What is now Portugal and Spain.

<sup>2</sup> See page 107.

<sup>3</sup> It is also in mind the Canary Islands.

<sup>4</sup> That is Mauritania, approximately.

<sup>5</sup> *Argos*. A. M. for transposes, from its position after the plowmen, and shares in the same.

<sup>6</sup> *Argo* *excellent*, Statius, for *Argo* *excellent*.



δ μέρος συντρέχει καὶ τῷ<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὸ ταύτης πέρασ· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ονόματος δῆλόν, ὅτι καὶ ταύτας ἐνομιζόν εὐδαίμονας διὰ τὸ πλησιάζειν τοιοῦτοις χωρίοις

6. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε καὶ οἱ Αἰθίοπες ἐπὶ τῷ ὠκεανῷ ἔσχατοι, δηλοῦ· ὅτι μὲν ἔσχατοι,

Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,  
(Οἰ. 1 33)

οὐδὲ τοῦ "διχθὰ δεδαίεται" φανύως λεγομένου, ὡς διειχθήσεται ὕστερον· ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὠκεανῷ,

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὀκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας  
χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα. (Il. I. 423)

ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς ταῖς ἄρκτοις ἔσχατιὰ παρωκεανήτις ἐστίν, οὕτως ἤνιξατο εἰπὼν περὶ τῆς ἄρκτου·

οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοστρῶν Ὀκεανοῖο.  
(Il. 18. 489, Οἰ. 5. 276)

διὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν ἀρκτικόν δηλοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοσούτων ἀστέρων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ περιφερομένων τῷ ἀεὶ φανερῷ οἷη ἄμμορον εἶπε λοστρῶν ὠκεανοῖο. ὥστ' οὐκ εὖ ἀπειρίαν ὑποτὸ καταγωγασκουσιν, ὡς μίαν ἄρκτον ἀντὶ δυεῖν εἶδοτος· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν πωτὴν ἐτέραν ἡστροθετῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Φοίνικες ἐσημειώσαντο καὶ ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὸν πλάουν, παρελθεῖν καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὴν διάταξιν ταύτην, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Βαρενίκης πλόκαμον, καὶ τὸν Κάνωβον, ἐχθρὸς καὶ πρῶην κατωνομασμένον

<sup>1</sup> τῷ, Jones mss. etc.

of the region where the end of Maeneus runs close to that of the Bear. And these names others find because these words were near to crossed count so that they were thought to be named together.

6. But Ptolemy Heron seems to make it plain that the Bear goes on at the end of the earth on the banks of the ocean that there is at the end of the earth when he speaks of the Itanians that are situated between the extremity of men and between the words "are situated between" are not necessarily said as we have seen later on and that Ptolemy is on the banks of Oceanus, when he says "for first went east" by the ocean, until the north Pole was for a least. And he has left us to see that the farthest land in the north is seen to be by Oceanus as is the case of the Bear that "is almost to the point of the north of heaven." That is by the terms "Hesperia" and "Asia" he means the "arctic circle" for otherwise he would not have said of the Bear that "the whole of the north is the lands of the ocean" were as many stars as the stars of the constellations in that same quarter of the heavens which was above visible to him. So it is not well for us to accuse him of ignorance on the ground that he knew of but one Bear instead of two, for it is true that in the time of Ptolemy the other Bear had not yet been marked out as a constellation, and that the star-group had not become known as such to the Greeks until the Phoenicians had named it and used it for the purpose of navigation, the same is true of Hercules, Har and of Cancer for we know that these two constellations have risen and

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of the term "arctic circle" among the ancients, see § 2.2 and footnote.

Ἰσμαν,<sup>1</sup> πολλοὺς δ' ἔτι νῦν ἀνωγύμους ὄντας, καθάπερ καὶ Ἄρατος φησιν (Phaen. 148). οὐδὲ Κράτης οὖν ὁρθῶς γράφει,

οἶος δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοστρῶν

φεύγων τὰ μὴ φευκτά. βελτίων δ' Ἰπράκλειτος καὶ ὁμηρικώτερος, ὁμοίως ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄρκτικοῦ τὴν ἄρκτον ὀνομάζων "ἡοὺς καὶ ἐσπέρης<sup>2</sup> τέρματα ἢ ἄρκτος, καὶ ἀντίον τῆς ἄρκτου οὖρος αἰθρίου Διός." ὁ γὰρ ἄρκτικός ἐστι δύσεως καὶ ἀνατολῆς

C 4 δρος, οὐχ ἢ ἄρκτος. διὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἄρκτου, ἦν καὶ ἄμαξαν καλεῖ καὶ τὸν Ὀρίωνα δοκεῖν φησί (Oed. B. 274), τὸν ἄρκτικὸν δηλοῖ διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τὸν ὀρίζοντα, εἰς δὲ καὶ ἐξ οὗ τὰς δύοσεις καὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς ποιεῖ.<sup>3</sup> εἰπὼν δὲ αὐτοῦ στρέφεισθαι καὶ ἀμοιρεῖν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ οἶδεν ὅτι κατὰ σημείον τὸ ἄρκτικώτατον τοῦ ὀρίζοντος γίνεται ὁ ἄρκτικός. ἀκολοίθως δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἀρμόσαντες τὸν μὲν ὀρίζοντα ὀφείλομεν δέχεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἰκείως τῷ ὠκεανῷ, τὸν δ' ἄρκτικὸν τῆς γῆς ἀπτόμενον ὥς ἂν πρὸς αἰσθησιν κατὰ τὸ ἄρκτικώτατον τῆς οἰκήσεως σημείον· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς γῆς κλύζοιτ' ἂν τῷ ὠκεανῷ

<sup>1</sup> Ἰσμαν, A. Müller inserts, A. Vogel approving in part.

<sup>2</sup> ἐσπέρης, Corais, for ἐσπέρης, Meineke following.

C. Müller, Cobet, approving.

<sup>3</sup> ποιεῖ, A. Müller, for ποιέται; A. Vogel approving.

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their names quite recently and that there are many  
constellations still unnamed just as Arctus was.  
Therefore isles is not correct either when, in  
speaking to Arctus what needs no attention he assigns  
the best of Homer as to make it read "And the  
arctic circle's name hath no part in the bulks of  
Chronos." Better and more Homeric is Hemisphere,  
who now explains "the Bear" for "the arctic  
circle." The Bear forms limits of morning and  
evening and ever against her Bear face becometh blow  
from far place. For the arctic circle and not the  
Bear forms a boundary around which the stars as Uranus  
run never set. A boundary is "the Bear" which he  
also calls "the Wain" as if he were as keeping watch  
upon Uranus. Homer means the arctic circle and  
by Chronos he means the system into which he  
makes the stars set and from which he makes them  
to rise. And when he says that the Bear makes its  
revolution in that region without having a part in  
Chronos he knows not the arctic circle touches the  
most northern point of the hemisphere. If we suppose  
the part arctic in this way then we should interpret  
the lexicon as hemisphere corresponding to  
Chronos and the arctic circle as touching the north  
—if we ever believe the existence of our senses—at  
the most northern isolated point. And on the  
opposite of Homer, this part of the earth also is

<sup>1</sup> (Cable extended Humber's invention term of the patent to the "full" term of the patent, as to which Humber & Co. v. The Patent Office, 1898, 14 F.T.R. 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 9

The "Arctic Circle" is significant because it is the line of latitude where the sun is visible for at least one day each year. It is located at approximately 66.5 degrees North latitude. The Arctic Circle is significant because it is the line of latitude where the sun is visible for at least one day each year. It is located at approximately 66.5 degrees North latitude.

κατ' αὐτόν. καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δὲ οἶδε τοὺς  
προσβάλλουσι<sup>1</sup> μάλιστα, οὗς ὀνομαστὶ μὲν οὐ  
δηλοῖ (οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν που κοινὸν αὐτοῖς ὄνομα  
κεῖται πᾶσι). τῇ διαίτῃ δὲ φραζει, νομάδας αὐτοὺς  
ὑπογράφων καὶ "ἀγαθοὺς ἵππημολῶντας γαλακτο-  
φάγους ἀβίους<sup>2</sup> τε" (II 13. 5, 6).

7 Καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἐμφαίνει τὸ κύκλῳ περικεῖσθαι  
τῇ γῇ τὸν ὠκεανόν, ὅταν οὕτω φῇ ἡ "Ἰβρα·

εἰμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πεῖρατα γαίης  
Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν. (II. 14. 200, cf. 301)

τοῖς γὰρ πέρασι πᾶσι συνῆφθαι<sup>3</sup> λέγει τὸν ὠκε-  
ανόν· τὰ δὲ πέρατα κύκλῳ περικείται (II 18. 607).  
ἔν τε τῇ ὀπλοποιίᾳ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως ἀσπίδος κύκλῳ  
περιτίθῃσι τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἵτιος. ἔχεται δὲ  
τῆς αὐτῆς φιλοπραγμοσύνης καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὰ  
περὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀμ-  
πτώεις, "Ἀψορρόβου Ὠκεανοῖο" (II. 18. 399) λέ-  
γοντα<sup>4</sup> καὶ

τρεῖς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνέησαν ἐπ' ἡματι, τρεῖς δ'  
ἀναροιβδεῖ. (Od. 12. 105)

καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ δῖς, τάχα τῆς ἱστορίας  
παραπαισαντος,<sup>5</sup> ἢ τῆς γραφῆς διημαρτημένης·  
ἀλλ' ἢ γε προαίρεσις τοιαυτή. καὶ τὸ "ἐξ ἀκα-  
λαρρείταιο" (II. 7. 422) δὲ ἔχει τινὰ ἐμφασιν τῆς  
πλημμυρίδος, ἐχούσης τὴν ἐπίβασιν πρᾶξιαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> προσβάλλουσι, Meineke, for προσβαλλόντες. C. Müller ap-  
proving.

<sup>2</sup> ἀβίαι is a proper name in Homer.

<sup>3</sup> συνῆφθαι, Madvig, for συνέθη. Cobet approving.

<sup>4</sup> λέγοντα, editors before Kramer (who reads λέγοντι);  
Meineke restores, C. Müller approving.

<sup>5</sup> παραπαισαντος, Cobet, for παραπαισόντος.

washed by Oceanus. Furthermore Homer knows of the men who live farthest north, and while he does not name them by name—and even to the present day there is no common term that will embrace them all—he characterizes them by their mode of life describing them as “*serpents*, and as *men and snakes, sword-eaters, and a ravenous folk*.”

In other words, too, Homer indicates that Oceanus surrounds the earth as when Hera says in *Iliad* “*For I am going to visit the limits of the human earth and Oceanus, father of the gods*.” By these words he means that Oceanus touches all the extremities of the earth, and thus an estimation from a circle round the earth. Again in the story of the making of the world of *Asiatica* Homer places Oceanus in a circle round the water edge of the shield of Atlas. It is not as proof of the same opinion for a new age that Homer was not given and about the other end of the line of Oceanus for he speaks of “*Oceanus that flows ever down upon Asia*” and also says “*For three a day she spouts it forth and three a day she sucks it down. For even if it be twice and not three*”—it may be that Homer was deterred from the fact on this point, or else that there is a corruption in the text.

The principle of his narrative remains the same. And even the phrase “*great flowing*” contains a reference to the flood tide, which comes with a gentle

<sup>1</sup> Homer here refers to Charybdis. Strabo himself seems to be saying that it is a whirlpool sucking the boundaries of the world.

<sup>2</sup> See *Geog. 2* where Ptolemy is referred to as making a similar statement.

οὐ τελείας βοώδης. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σκοπέλους λέγειν τότε μὲν καλυπτομένους, τότε δὲ γυμνομένους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμὸν φαναι τὸν ὠκεανὸν εἰκάζει τὸ βοῶδες αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας ἐμφανίζεσθαι (II. 14. 245). τὸ μὲν αὖν πρῶτον εὖ, τὸ δὲ δευτερον οὐκ ἔχει λόγον· οὔτε γὰρ ποταμὸς βρέματι ἵοικεν ἢ τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἐπίβασις, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναχωρησις οὕτοιαν. ὁ τε τοῦ Κράτητος λόγος διδύσκει τι πιθανώτερον. βαθύρρου μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄψορον (Oδ. 11. 13; 20. 86) λέγει, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν ὅλον ὠκεανόν· λέγει δὲ καὶ μέρος τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τι ποταμὸν καὶ ποταμοῖς ῥοόν, οὐ τοῦ ὅλου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέρους, ὅταν οὕτω φῇ

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥοόν Ὀκεανοῖο  
νῆυσ, ἀπὸ δ' ἔκτο κῦμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο  
(Oδ. 12. 1)

οὐ γὰρ τὸν ὅλον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥοόν μέρος ὄντα τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ὅν φησιν ὁ Κράτης ἀνάχυσιν τινα καὶ κόλπον ἐπὶ τὸν νότιον πόλον ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμερινοῦ τροπικοῦ διηκοντα. τοῦτον γὰρ δύναιτ' ἂν τις ἐκλιπὼν εἶναι εἶναι ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ· τὸν δὲ ὅλον ἐκλιποντα εἶναι εἶναι ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ, οὐχ οὐδὲν τε. Ὅμηρος δὲ γε οὕτω φησί·

“ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥοόν, ἀπὸ δ' ἔκτο κῦμα  
θαλάσσης,”

ἥτις οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ὠκεανός. γίνεται οὖν, εἰάν τις δεχθῇ, ἐκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μακροτέρως ἐστὶ διαίτην.

well and not with a violent current. *Protestations* come from both from Homer's reference to the head-land as sometimes covered with the waves and sometimes bare, and from his saying that a river that by the current of Helios' flame is changing the flow of waters. The first reference of Prometheus is correct but the second is ungrammatical. For the course of the tale is not like a stream of a river and proceeds as in the ship. The explanation given by the poet is more plausible. Homer speaks of the whole of Oceanus as "flowing" and "back flowing" and in his speaking of a river he also speaks of a part of Oceanus as a river or as a "river stream" and he is speaking of a part of Oceanus and not of the whole of it as he says "Now after the ship had left the river stream of Oceanus, she was come to the wave of the wide sea. Not so white," I say, but the stream of the river which stream is an Oceanus being therefore a part of it, and this stream, Oceanus says is a sort of estuary in which "waters flow from the water large" the function of the water "large" being not to give more the estuary and still be in Oceanus but it is not enough for a man to leave the water and still be in the whole. At any rate Homer says "The ship had left the river stream and was come to the wave of the sea, where 'the sea' is surely nothing other than Oceanus if you interpret it otherwise, the meaning becomes "After Oceanus had gone out of Oceanus, he came into Oceanus." But that is a matter to be discussed at greater length.

† Strabo placed the "summer tropic" and "winter tropic" respectively 24 north and south of the equator. By our modern reckoning, pretty nearly to our Tropic of Cancer and Tropic of Capricorn.



8. Ὅτι δὲ ἡ οἰκουμένη νησός ἐστι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς αἰσθήσεως καὶ τῆς πείρας ληπτέον· πανταχῇ γάρ, ὅπου ποταῦν ἐφικτὸν γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσχάτα τῆς γῆς προσελθεῖν, εὕρίσκεται θύλαιτα, ἣν δὴ καλοῦμεν ὠκεανόν· καὶ ὅπου δὲ τῇ αἰσθήσει λαβεῖν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, ὁ λόγος δεικνυσί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑωθινὸν πλευρόν, το κατὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸ ἰσπέριον, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰβήρας καὶ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους, περιπλεῖται πᾶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ το νοτίου μέρους καὶ τοῦ βορείου· τὸ δὲ λειπομένον ἀπλουν ἡμῖν μέχρι νῦν τῷ μὴ συμμίξαι μηδενος ἀλλήλοις τῶν ἀντιπεριπλεόντων οὐ πολὺ, εἴ τις συντίθῃσιν ἐκ τῶν παραλλήλων διαστημάτων τῶν ἐφικτῶν ἡμῖν· οὐκ εἰκος δὲ διθύλαττον εἶναι τὸ πῖλαγος τὸ Ἀτλαντικόν, ἰσθμοῖς διειργόμενον οὕτω στενοῖς τοῖς κωλυσσει τὸν περίπλουν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σύρρουν καὶ συνηχές· οἳ τε γὰρ περιπλεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες, εἴτα ἀναστρεψαντες, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἡπείρου τινὸς ἀντιπιπτούσης καὶ κωλυούσης τον ἐπικεινα πλοῦν ἀνακρουσθῆναι φασίν, ἀλλὰ ὑπο ἀπορίας καὶ ἐρημίας, οὐδὲν ἦττον τῆς θαλαττης ἐχούσης τὸν παρον· τοῖς τε πῖίθεσι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τοῖς παρὶ τὰς ἀμπώτεις καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας ὁμολογεῖ τοῦτο μᾶλλον· πάντῃ γοῦν ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος τῶν<sup>2</sup> μεταβολῶν ὑπαρχαι καὶ τῶν αὐξησεων

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιχειρήσαντες, the reading of the MSS., is retained, O. Müller approving. Dübner and Meimacho read ἐπιχειρήσαντες.

<sup>2</sup> τε, A. Miller deletes, before μεταβολῶν.



καὶ μειώσεων, ἢ οὐ πολὺ παραλλάττων, ὥς ἂν ἐφ' ἑνὸς πελωγους τῆς κινήσεως ἀποδιδωμένης καὶ ἀπομιάς αἰτίας.

9 Ἰπταρχος δ' οὐ πιθανός ἐστιν ἀντιλέγων τῇ δόξῃ ταυτῇ, ὥς οὐδ' ὁμοιοπαθοῦντος τοῦ ὕδατος παντελῶς, οὐτ', εἰ δοθῇ τοῦτο, ἀκολουθοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ συρρουν εἶναι πᾶς τὸ κύκλῳ πῆλαγος τοῦ Ἀτλαντικου, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὁμοιοπαθεῖν μάρτυρι χρωμένος Σελαυκῇ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν πλεον λόγον περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν πλημμυρῶν εἰς Ποσειδωνίον ἀναβαλλομεθα καὶ Ἀθηνοδωρον, ἱκανῶς διευκρινίσαντας<sup>1</sup> τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον πρὸς δὲ τὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον λέγομεν, ὅτι πρὶν τε τὴν ὁμοιοπαθεῖαν οὕτως βαλτίον νομίσαι, ταῖς οὐρίαις συνεχοῖν<sup>2</sup> ἂν κρείττον ταῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἀναθυμασσοῖν, εἰ πλείον εἴη τὸ ὑγρὸν περιεχόμενον.

10 Ὡς περ οὖν τὰ ἱσχυρὰ καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς αἰκουμένης οἶδε καὶ φριζεῖ σαφῶς ὁ ποιητής, οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης τῆς ἐντὸς περιεχέει γὰρ ταυτὴν ἀπὸ Σηθλῶν ἀρξάμενοις Λιβύῃ τε καὶ Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ Φοινικῇ, ἐξῆς δὲ ἡ περαιὰ<sup>3</sup> τῆς Κυπρου, εἴτα Σολυμοὶ καὶ Λυκίοι καὶ Κῦροι, μετὰ δὲ ταυτοῖς ἡ μεταξὺ Μυκαλῆς καὶ τῆς Τρωάδος ἥνω<sup>4</sup> καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι νῆσοι, ὧν

<sup>1</sup> ἐφ', Corais, for ἐπ', C. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> συνεκρίθησαν R. Per her and Plucos. independently, for διακρίθησαν C. Müller and A. Vogel approving in part. Corais reads διακρίθησαν. C. Müller approving.) Κραται διακρίθησαντες. Μὴ οὐκ διακρίθησαντες (L. Etymologicus, L. Kayser, approving) or διακρίθησαντες, Madvig διακρίθησαντες.

<sup>3</sup> περαιά, Madvig, for πέρι.

<sup>4</sup> ἥνω, Madvig, for ἥνω.

side: as would be the case if their movements were performed by one man and were the result of one cause.

§ Heracleitus is not convincing when he contradicts us, on the ground that the ocean does not move uniformly and incessantly, that, even. But he granted I do not find that the Atlantic Ocean runs round the earth to me as broken stones. In support of his opinion that the ocean does not behave uniformly he appeals to the nature and behaviour of flames. But we further discuss<sup>1</sup> of the ocean and clouds I refer the reader to Posidonius and Athenodorus who have examined the argument on this subject with great sagacity. For my present purpose I must add that it is better to accept our view of the uniform behaviour of the ocean, and that the farther the mass of water may extend around the earth the better the heavens incline to be held together by the vapours that arise therefrom.<sup>2</sup>

§ Heron then, knows and clearly describes the remote ends of the ocean on earth and what surrounds it, and he is just as familiar with the regions of the Mediterranean Sea. For if you begin at the Pillars of Hercules<sup>3</sup> you will find that the Mediterranean Sea is bounded by Libya, Egypt, and Phoenicia and further on by the part of the continent lying over against Cyrene, then by the territory of the Scythians, by Lycia, and by Caria, and next by the mountain between Mysia and the Troad together with the islands adjacent thereto, and all these lands are

<sup>1</sup> See 1 3 1 and 1 3 2.      <sup>2</sup> A doctrine of the Stoics.

<sup>3</sup> See 1 3 5 for the different conceptions of what the Pillars were.

ἐπ' αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> μέμνηται καὶ ἔφεξεν τῶν περὶ τὴν  
 Προποντίδα καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου<sup>2</sup> μέχρι Κολχίδος  
 καὶ τῆς Ἰάσονος στρατείας καὶ μὴ καὶ τὸν  
 Κιμμερικὸν βόσπορον οἶδε, τοὺς Κιμμεριῶν εἶδεν,  
 οὐ ἔγκου τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῶν Κιμμεριῶν εἶδεν,  
 αὐτοὺς δὲ ὠγνῶν οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἢ μακρὸν πρὸ  
 αὐτοῦ μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπιδύναμεν τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ  
 βόσποροι πᾶσαν. αἰνιττεται γοῖν καὶ τὸ κλίμα  
 τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ζοφωδὲς ὄν, καὶ ὡς φησίη,

ἦτοι καὶ νεφέλη κακαλυμμένοι οὐδε ποτ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἥλιος φαιθὼν ἐπιδερκεται,<sup>3</sup>

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλησ' ἵσταται. (Οἰ. 11 15, 19)

γνωρίζει δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, μεμνημένος γὰρ Μυ-  
 σων, ἔθκοντες Θρακίου παροικούντες τὸν Ἰστρον  
 καὶ μὴ καὶ τὴν εἴης παραλίαν οἶδε, Θρακίαν  
 οὖσαν, μέχρι Πηνειοῦ, Παιονίης τε αἰομάζων καὶ  
 Ἀθῶν καὶ Ἀξίων καὶ τὰς προτειμέναις τούτων  
 νήσοις. ἔξης δέ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παραλία  
 μέχρι Θεσπρωτῶν, ἥς ὅπασθης μέμνηται. καὶ μὴ  
 καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄκρα οἶδε Ἰαμεικὴν καλῶν  
 καὶ Σικελίαν,<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄκρα καὶ τὴν  
 εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτῶν, ἣν ἄρτιως ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ τινα  
 ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ βλαβεύματα φαίνεται, συγγνωή  
 τις ἔν, καὶ γὰρ ἐ γεωγραφῶν ὄντως πολλὰ παρ-  
 ἴησι τῶν ἐν μέρσι. συγγνωή δ' ἔν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὠδή  
 τιλὲ προσπέπλεται τοις λεγομένοις ἱστορικῶς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτῶν, Cassiodorus, for ἐπ' αὐτῶν, Kramer, Gieseler, Forbiger, Tardieu, Meineke, following.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Εὐξείνου εἰς τὴν ἑξῆς μέχρι C Müller approving.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλησ' ἵσταται, C Müller restores, for the usual reading αἰνιττεται, from the MSS. of the Odyssey.

mentioned by Homer as well as those further on, about the Phrygia and the Thracians as far as Colchis and the limits of Ionia extend, we were told that it is known the same man thought, because he knows the mountains. For since I have known the names of the mountains he is not ignorant of the people themselves: the latter is a man in Homer's own time or shortly before his time, was not the same country from the Phrygia to Colchis. At least he estimates the diversity of climate of their country in general and the mountains as well as the rivers, in part and in part, as well as the mountains and the rivers, but not the mountains and the rivers. He is not aware of the river later since he mentions the mountains, a fact which is that the river is the same. More than that he knows the mountains next to the river on the Phrygia to as far as the Phrygia River. He has known the mountains of Asia and Asia and of the mountains of Asia and Asia. And next comes the mountains of the river as far as Phrygia, which he mentions in its entirety. And yet more he knows the mountains of the river as far as the mountains of Ionia and of the river. He also knows the head and capes of Ionia and of the mouth of the river, as I have stated above. If between these countries there are some countries which he leaves out, we might pardon him for the practical geographer himself would make some details. And we might pardon the poet even if he has inserted things

\* Phrygia.

\* Phrygia.

\* The River Tiber.

\* See below under Kramer's notes. Mentioned following.

\* Reference is made to the 1st. 1st. but that Tiber is in

Cypria.

καὶ διδασκαλικῶς, καὶ αὐτοὶ δεῖ μέμφεσθαι· οὐδὲ  
 07 γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἐστίν, ὃ φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης, ὅτι  
 ποιητὴς καὶ στοχαζέσθαι ψυχῶν γίγνεται, οὐ διὰ  
 σκαλίας· τὰναντία γὰρ αἱ φρονήματα τοῦ τῶν περὶ  
 ποιητικῆς τι φθονήσαντων πρώτης τινὲ λεγούσι  
 φιλοσοφίαν τῇ ποιητικῇ· ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἐρατο-  
 σθένη μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐρωτῶμεν διὰ πλείονων, ἐν οἷς καὶ  
 περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καλὴν ἔσται λόγος.

11 Νυνὶ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ὀμηροῦ τῆς γεωγραφίας  
 ᾗδεν, ἄρκειν τὰ λεχθέντα· φανεροὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ  
 ἐτακολουθήσαντες αὐτῷ ἀνδρὲς ἀξιολογοὶ καὶ  
 οἰκιστοὶ φιλοσοφίας· ὧν τοὺς πρώτους μετ' Ὀμήρου  
 εἶς φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης Ἀναξίμανδρον τε Μιλήτου  
 γεωγράφον καὶ πολιτὴν, καὶ Ἡκκασίωνα  
 τὸν Μιλήσιον· τὸν μὲν οἶν ἐκτείνειν πρώτον  
 γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἰλατίων κατα-  
 λειπὼν γεωμετρικῶς πωτομέτρων σκαλὸν εἶναι ἐκ τῆς  
 ἑλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς.

13 Ἀλλὰ μὲν ὅτι γε δεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα πολὺ  
 μάθης περὶ καὶ συχνά· εὐ δὲ καὶ Ἰππάρχος  
 ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένη διδασκεῖ ὅτι παντὶ καὶ  
 ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ φιλομαθοῦντι τῆς γεωγραφικῆς  
 ἱστορίας προσπεποισμένη ἀδύνατον μεταλαβεῖν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀπὲς τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν  
 τηρίσεων ἐπεὶ ὡς οἶον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐτὴν  
 πρὸς Λίγυτιν ποτιερὰν ὑπερτερεῖται ἡ νοτιώτερη,  
 λαβεῖν οὐχ οἶον τε οὐδ' ἐφ' ὅποιον  
 διάστημα, χωρὶς τῆς διὰ τῶν κλίματων ἐπισκε-

<sup>1</sup> μεταλαβεῖν. Carra. for λαβεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Bitter: I suppose the point where lat y is 1 2 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hipparchus has taken as a basis of measurement for latitudes and longitudes a principal parallel of latitude through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Gulf of Ibus, and a principal meridian through Alexandria. He then drew parallels of

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

had made through various parts of the plane, and then formed  
into a single mass. The result was a single mass of  
the same color as the original material, but of a much  
different shape. The result was a single mass of the same  
color as the original material, but of a much different shape.



ψαυς ὁμοίως τὰς πρὸς τῷ προσκεχωρηκυίας<sup>1</sup> ἢ πρὸς δυοῖν μάλλον καὶ ἥττον οὐκ ἂν γνοίη τις ἀκριβῶς, πλὴν εἰ<sup>2</sup> διὰ τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης συγκαρσεως. οὗτος δὲ δὴ ταῦτα φησιν.

13. Ἀπαντεῖ δὲ<sup>3</sup> ὅσαι τόπων ιδιότητες λέγουσιν ἐπιχωροῦσιν οἰκίαις προσεπτοῦνται καὶ τῶν αὐραίων καὶ γεωμετρίας, σχήματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ ἀποστήματα καὶ κλίματα ἐπιδεικνύοντες καὶ θύλην καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν τοῦ περιχρόνου φύσιν ἐπεὶ καὶ οἶκον κατασκευαζόντων οἰκοδομοὺς ταῦτα ἂν προσῆτο καὶ πόλιν κτιζόντων αρχιτέκτων, μὴ τί γε ἄλλην ἐπισκοπῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην κενὴν πολὺ γὰρ ταύτῃ προσήκει μᾶλλον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μικροῖς χωριοῖς τὸ πρὸς ἀρκτοῦς ἢ πρὸς νοτον κεκλισθαι παραλλαγὴν οὐ πολλὴν ἔχει, ἐν δὲ τῇ παντὶ κυκλῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ<sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἀρκτον μὲν μέχρι τῶν ὑστάτων ἐστὶ τῆς Σκυθίας ἢ τῆς Κελτικῆς, μέχρι δὲ τῶν ὑστάτων Λίβυον τὰ πρὸς νότον τοῦτο δὲ παντὸς ἔχει διαφορὰν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς οἰκίαις ἢ παρ' Ἰβηραῖς ὧν  
C 8 τοὺς μὲν ἔφρουε μάλιστα, τοὺς δὲ ἐσπερίους, τρῶσαν δὲ τινα καὶ ἀντιπαθὰς ἀλλήλοισι ἴσμεν

14. Πάν δὲ τῷ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν κινήσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> προσεπιχωρηκυίας, Cotta, for προσεπεχωρηκυίας.

<sup>2</sup> εἰ. Cotta = for ἢ ἄλλοι πλὴν, Meiske following.

<sup>3</sup> 24, Cotta non insertis, after Boisson.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ πρὸς ἀρκτον μὲν, Cotta, for πρὸς ἀρκτον μὲν τὰ

like manner, we cannot accurately fix points that lie at varying distances from us, whether to the east or the west, except by a comparison of the eclipses of the sun and the moon.<sup>1</sup> That, then, is what Hipparchus says on the subject.

13 A those who undertake to describe the distinguishing features of countries devote special attention to astronomy and geometry, in expounding matters of shape of land, of distances between points, and of climates, as well as matters of heat and cold, and, in general, the peculiarities of the atmosphere. It need an architect in constructing a house or an engineer in building a city would make provision for all these conditions, and all the more would they be considered by the man whose paragon embraced the whole inhabited world, for they concern him more than anyone else. Within the area of small countries it induces no very great discrepancy if a given place be situated more towards the north or more towards the south, but when the area is that of the whole round of the inhabited world the north extends to the remote confines of Scythia and Colchis<sup>2</sup> and the south to the remote confines of Ethiopia, and the difference between these two extremes is very great. The same thing holds true also as regards a man's living in India or Iberia, the one country is in the far east and the other is in the far west. Indeed they are, in a sense, the antipodes of each other, as we know.

14 Everything of this kind since it is caused by the movement of the sun and the other stars as well

<sup>1</sup> That is, by a comparison of the observations of the same eclipses made from different points of observation.

<sup>2</sup> France, approximately.

ἐτι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φορᾶς, ἀναβλέπειν ἀναγκάζει πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα παρ' ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν τῶν οὐρανίων· ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐξαλλαξαίης ὁρῶνται παρμεγέθειν τῶν οἰκίσεων. τίς ἂν οὖν διαφορὰς τοπων ἐκτιθέμενος καλῶς καὶ ἱκανῶς διδάσκοι, μὴ φροντίσας τούτων μηδενὸς μηδ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν, καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ δυνατόν κατὰ τὴν ὑποθεσιν τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπαντα ἀκριβοῦν διὰ τὸ εἶναι πολιτικωτέραν, τό γε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ παρακολουθεῖν δυνατόν, προσήκοι ἂν εἰκότως.

15. Ὁ δ' οὕτω μεταωρίσας ἤδη τὴν διάνοιαν οὐδὲ τῆς ὅλης ἀπέχεται γῆς. φαίνεται γὰρ γελοῖον, εἰ τὴν οἰκουμένην γλιχόμενος σαφῶς ἐξεῖπεῖν τῶν μὲν οὐρανίων ἐτόλμησεν ἄψασθαι καὶ χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν, τὴν δ' ὅλην γῆν, ἥς μέρος ἡ οἰκουμένη, μήθ' ὀπόση, μήθ' ὅποια τις, μήθ' ὅπου κειμένη τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, μηδὲν<sup>1</sup> ἐφρόντισε· μηδ', εἰ καθ' ἓν μέρος οἰκεῖται μόνον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἢ κατὰ πλείω, καὶ<sup>2</sup> πόσα· ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὸ ἀοίκητον αὐτῆς πόσαν καὶ ποῖόν τι καὶ διὰ τί. ἔοικεν οὖν μετεωρολογικῇ τινι πραγματείᾳ καὶ γεωμετρικῇ συνήφθαι τὸ τῆς γεωγραφίας εἶδος, τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς οὐρα-

<sup>1</sup> μηδέν, Corais, for μηδέν; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ, Corais deletes before καὶ πόσα, Meineke following.

as by their tendency towards the centre,<sup>1</sup> compels us to look to the rest of heaven and to observe the phenomena of the heavenly bodies precisely as to our individual positions: and at these phenomena we see very great variations in the positions of situated places. So if one is about to treat of the differences between countries, how can he draw his subject correctly and adequately if he has paid no attention, even superficially, to any or three matters? For even if it be unimportant in a treatise of this nature, because of its having a greater bearing on affairs of state, to make every thing a celestial matter, if it is natural, he ought to do so, at least in so far as the man in question is able to reach the thought.

10 Moreover the man who has once been lifted his thought to the heavens will surely not be content from the earth as a whole, for it is obviously absurd, if a man who desired to give a clear exposition of the inhabited world had ventured to lay hold of the celestial bodies and to use them for the purposes of instruction and yet had paid no attention to the earth as a whole of which the celestial world is but a part—neither as to its size, nor its character, nor its position in the universe, nor even whether the world is inhabited only in the one part in which we live or in a number of parts, and how many our parts there are, and whence how large the uninhabited part is, what its nature is, and why it is uninhabited. It seems, then, that the special branch of geography represents a union of meteorology and geology, since it unites terrestrial and celestial phenomena as

<sup>1</sup> See § 20 following and footnote.

<sup>2</sup> The following note, after all, is not a measure of extremity as well as the absence of meteorology.

# STRABO

νίαις συνάπτεται εἰς ἓν, ὥς ἐγγυτάτω δοῖται, ἀλλὰ  
μὴ διαστῶτα τοσαύτων,

ὅσον οὐρανὸς ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης. (II 8. 16)

16. Φέρει δὲ τῇ τοσαύτῃ πολιμαθείᾳ προσθῶ-  
μεν τὴν ἐπιγειοῦν ἱστορίαν, οἷον ζῶων καὶ φυτῶν  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα χρῆσιμα ἢ δυσχρήστα φέρει  
γῇ τε καὶ θιλασσοῖ· αἵμαί γὰρ ἐναργεῖς ἂν γενέ-  
σθαι μᾶλλον ὁ λόγος. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρα-  
σκευαί τινες εἰς φράγησιν μεγάλαι<sup>1</sup> τῇ μαθεῖν  
δὲ τῆς χώρας τὴν φύσιν καὶ ζῶων καὶ φυτῶν  
ἰδέας προσθεῖναι δεῖ καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης  
ἀμφιβιοὶ γὰρ τρόπον τινα ἴσμεν καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον  
χερσαῖοι ἢ θαλαττιοί.<sup>2</sup> ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄφελος  
μέγα παντὶ τῷ παραλαβόντι τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστο-  
ρίαν, ἐκ τε τῆς παλαιᾶς μνημῆς δῆλον καὶ ἐκ  
τοῦ λόγου. οἱ γοῦν ποιηταὶ φρονιμωτάτους τῶν  
ἡρώων ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς ἀποδημησάντας πολλὰ  
χοῦ καὶ πλανηθέντας· ἐν μεγάλῃ γὰρ τίθενται  
τὸ "πολλὸν ἀνθρώπων ἰδεῖν ἄστεα καὶ πόσιν  
γινῶναι" (Od. I 3), καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ σεμνύνεται, διότι  
τοῖς Λαπιθαῖς ὁμίλησεν, ἔλθων μεταπεμπτός

τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπείτης γαίης· καλέσαντο γὰρ αὐτοί.  
(II 1, 270)

καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος ὁσαύτως.

Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπαληθεῖς  
Αἰθιοπίας θ' ἰκόμεν καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβούς  
καὶ Λιβύην, (Od. 4 83)

<sup>1</sup> Piccolos reads and punctuates μεγάλαι τῇ μαθεῖν δὲ τῆς  
χώρας τὴν φύσιν καὶ ζῶων καὶ φυτῶν ἰδέας προσθεῖναι δεῖ καὶ τὰ

being very closely related, and in no sense separated from each other "as heaven is high above the earth."

16. Well then to this encyclopædic knowledge let us add terrestrial history—that is, the history of animals and plants and everything useful or harmful that is produced by land or sea. This definition will, I think, make clear what I mean by "terrestrial history." In fact all such studies are important as preliminary helps toward complete understanding. And to this knowledge of the nature of the land and of the species of animals and plants we must add a knowledge of all that pertains to the sea, for in a sense we are amphibious, and belong no more to the land than to the sea. That the benefit is great to anyone who has become possessed of information of this character is evident both from ancient traditions and from reason. At any rate the poets declare that the wisest heroes were those who visited many places and roamed over the world for the poets regard it as a great achievement to have "seen the cities and known the minds of many men." Nestor boasts of having lived among the Lapithæ, to whom he had gone as an invited guest, "from a distant land afar—for of themselves they summoned me." Menelaus, too, makes a similar boast, when he says: "I roamed once Cyprus and Phœnicia and Egypt, and came to Ethiopians and Sudians and Eretrians and Lœvæ."

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οἱ ἄλλοι. for ἄλλοι of ἰσθίον the ἄλλοι the ἄλλοι and (see the note on the ἄλλοι in the ἄλλοι, C. M. 1st. Starrett approving.

\* A M. or ἄλλοι is words ἄλλοι ἄλλοι ἄλλοι ἄλλοι ἄλλοι to this place from a position + ἄλλοι ἄλλοι ἄλλοι (line 2, p. 20, A. Vogel, Starrett, approving.

προσθεῖς καὶ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς χώρας,<sup>1</sup>

C 9 ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι·  
τρίς γὰρ τίκει μῆλα τέλεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτον.  
ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Θηβῶν·

(τῇ πλείστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα· (Οἰ. 4. 239)  
καὶ)

αἱ θ' ἑκατόμυιλοί εἰσι, διηκουσιοὶ δ' αὖν ἑκάστην  
ἰνέρες ἐξοικνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.  
(Il. 9. 883)

καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἰκὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς ἐμπειρίας  
τε καὶ ἱστορίας λεχθῆναι

μεγάλων ἐπίστατα ἔργων. (Οἰ. 21. 26)

ἐκ τε<sup>2</sup> δὴ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου  
μαρτυρεῖται τὰ λεχθέντα ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν.  
διαφεροντως δ' ἐπάγεσθαι δοκεῖ μοι πρὸς τὰ  
νῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος, διότι τῆς γεωγραφίας τὸ  
πλέον ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας τὰς πολιτικὰς. χώρα  
γὰρ τῶν πράξεων ἐστὶ γῆ καὶ<sup>3</sup> θάλαττα, ἣν  
οἰκοῦμεν· τῶν μὲν μικρῶν μικρά, τῶν δὲ μεγάλων  
μεγάλῃ· μεγίστῃ δ' ἡ συμπασα, ἥνπερ ἰδίως  
καλοῦμεν οἰκουμένην, ὥστε τῶν μεγιστῶν πρύ-  
ξεων αὕτη ἂν εἴη χώρα. μέγιστοι δὲ τῶν στρατη-  
λατῶν, ὅσοι δύνανται γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχειν,  
ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις συνάγοντες εἰς μίαν ἐξουσίαν  
καὶ διοίκησιν πολιτικὴν. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι ἡ γεω-  
γραφικὴ πᾶσα ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνάγεται τὰς

<sup>1</sup> A Miller transposes the words προσθεῖς καὶ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς  
χώρας to this place from a position after τελέθουσι, Blomfield  
approving.





ἡγεμονικᾶν, διατιθεῖσα ἡγεῖται καὶ πολλὰ τὰ  
 μὲν ἐντος, τὰ δὲ ἐκτος τῆς συμπασης οἰκουμένης  
 πρὸς τοὺς δὲ ἡ διαθεσίαι, οἷς διαφέρει ταῦτα  
 εἶναι οὕτως ἢ ἑτέρως, καὶ γνωριμὰ εἶναι ἢ μὴ  
 γνωριμὰ. βέλτιον γὰρ ἂν διαχειρίζοιεν ἕκαστα,  
 εἶδοτες τὴν χώραν ὅπου τις καὶ πῶς κείμενη  
 τυγχάνει καὶ τινὰς διαφορὰς ἰσχύουσα, τὰς δ' ἐν  
 τῇ περιέχοντι καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ. ἄλλων δὲ παρ'  
 ἄλλα μαρὴ δυναστευόντων καὶ ἅπ' ἄλλης ἐστίας  
 καὶ ἀρχῆς τὰς πρὶν προχειρίζομένων καὶ πεκ-  
 ταινομένων τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας μενέουσι, οὐκ ἐπ' ἴσης  
 δυνατόν οὔτ' ἕκαστοι ἅπαντα γνωρίζειν οὔτε τοῖς  
 γεωγραφοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ το μᾶλλον καὶ ἦσαν πολὺ  
 ἐν ἀμφοτέροις καθορᾶται τούτοις· μόλις γὰρ ἂν  
 το ἐπ' ἴσης πάντ' εἶναι φανερὰ συμβυίῃ τῆς συμ-  
 πασης οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ μιαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πολιτείαν  
 ἐπιγμένην· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐγγυτέρω  
 μᾶλλον ἂν γνωρίζοιτο, καὶ προσήκει τὰ ταῦτα διὰ  
 πλείονων ἐμφανίζειν. ἴσ' εἴη γνωριμὰ ταῦτα γὰρ  
 καὶ τῆς χρείας ἐγγυτέρω ἐστίν· ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν εἴη  
 θαυμαστόν, οὐδ' εἰ ἄλλος μὲν Ἰνδοῖς προσήκει  
 χωρογραφός, ἄλλος δὲ Λιβυοψύ, ἄλλος δὲ  
 Ἑλλήσι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις· τί γὰρ ἂν προσήκει  
 C 10 τῇ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς γεωγραφῇ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Βοιω-  
 τοὺς οὕτως φράζειν, ὡς Ὀμηροί·

οἱ δ' Ἰνδοὶ ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐλὶδα πετρικασσαν  
 Σχοῖνόν τε Σκάλλον τε (II 3 496)

ἡμῖν δὲ προσήκει τὰ δὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς οὕτως καὶ  
 τὰ κατὰ ἕκαστα οὕτως· οὐδε γὰρ ἢ χρεία

<sup>1</sup> ὁμοίως, O. Müller, on MSS. authority.

and was not only the sea inside the limits of the whole inhabited world but also those outside these limits. And the desire, in which geography gives its importance to these men who are concerned as to whether this or that is so or otherwise, and whether known or unknown. For husbandmen manage their various affairs in a more satisfactory manner if they know how large a country is, how it lies, and what are its peculiarities of soil or soil. But because difficult to get to in different quarters of the world, and carry on their activities from different centres and starting points, and keep extending the borders of their empires it is impossible either for them or for geographers to be equally familiar with all parts of the world, nay, the phrase "more or less" is a fact much in evidence in kings and geographers. For even if the whole inhabited world formed one empire or state it would hardly follow that all parts of that empire would be equally well known, nay it would not be true even in that case but the nearer regions would be better known. And it would be quite proper to describe these regions in greater detail in order to make them known, for they are also nearer to the needs of the state. Therefore it would not be remarkable even if one person were a proper chorographer for the Indians, another for the Ethiopians, and still another for the Greeks and Romans. For example, whereas would it be proper for the Indian geographer to add details about Ethiopia such as Homer gives? These were they that dwell in Ethiopia and rocky Aulis and Scheria and Scythia. But for me these details are proper, but when I come to treat India it is no longer proper to add such details, and, in fact, nature does

ἐπύρεται μέτρον δ' αὕτη μάλιστα τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας.

17 Καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν μικροῖς ἐνδηλόν<sup>1</sup> ἐστιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις. ἄμεινον γὰρ ἂν θηρεύσειέ τις εἶδως τὴν ὕλην, ὅποια τις καὶ ποσὴ καὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι δε καλῶς ἐν χωρίῳ τοῦ εἰδύτος ἐστί καὶ ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ οὐδεῖνσαι. ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μεγάλαις ἐστὶ τηλαιγιστερον, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὰ ἀθλα μείζω τὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τὰ σφάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρίας. οἱ μέντοι Ἀγαμέμνωνος στόλος τὴν Μυσίαν ἕως τὴν Τρωίδα πορθῶν ἐπαλεινδρυνήσεν αἰσχυρῶς. Πέρσαι δὲ καὶ Λιβυαὶ τοὺς πορθμοὺς ὑπονοήσαντες εἶναι τυφλοὺς στενωποὺς, ἐγγὺς μὲν ἦλθον κινδυνῶν μεγάλων, τροπαιὰ δὲ τῆς ἀνοίας<sup>2</sup> κατέλιπον οἱ μὲν τὸν τοῦ Σαλγανίω ταφον πρὸς τῇ Εὐρίκῃ τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ τοῦ σφαγέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἕως καθοδιτηγασαντος φαίνωντος ἀπὸ Μαλιέων ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρίκην τὸν στόλον οἱ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Πειλῶρου μῆμα, καὶ τούτου διαφθαρέντος κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν αἰτίας πληρῆς τε ναυαγίων ἢ Ἑλλὰς υπῆρξε κατὰ τὴν Εἰρξον στρατείαν, καὶ ἡ τῶν Λιολίων δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἴωνων ἀποικία πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πταίσματα παραδεδωκεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατορθώματα, ὅπου τι κατορθωθῆναι συνέβη παρὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τόπων καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θερμοκυλας στενοῖς ὃ Ἐφιάλτης

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπύρεται, Muller, for μὲν ἐπύρεται.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνοίας, the MSS reading is restored, for ἀνοίας, C. Müller approving.

not urge it—and utility above all things is our standard in empirical matters of this kind.

1<sup>st</sup> The utility of geography in matters of small concern also, is quite evident, for instance, in hunting. A hunter will be more successful in the chase if he knows the character and extent of the forest—and again only one who knows a region can advantageously pitch camp there, or set an ambush or direct a march. The utility of geography is more conspicuous, however, in great undertakings, in proportion as the prices of knowledge and the disasters that result from ignorance are greater. Thus Agamemnon and his fleet ravaged Mycenæ in the belief that it was Troy land and came home laden with spoil. And too the Persians and the Lacedæmonians, assuming that the Greeks were blind as to what way came near great perils, but they left behind them memorials of their folly for the Persians raised the tomb on the Larnus near Chaeris in honour of Soganeus when they executed in the belief that he had treacherously conducted their fleet from the Gulf of Malis to the Eurymæ and the Lacedæmonians erected the monument in honour of Leonas whom they put to death for a similar reason<sup>1</sup> and Greece was covered with wrecks of vessels on the occasion of the expedition of Xerxes, and again the Romans sent out by the Adriatic and in the Ionian have furnished many examples of similar blunders. There have also been cases of success in which success was due to acquaintance with the regions involved for instance, at the pass of Thermopyæ it is said that Epimidas,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, lib. 2. 2. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, lib. 2. 2. 2. to conduct the Carthaginians through the Strait of Messina.

λέγεται διέξαι τὴν διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν ἀτραπὸν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὑποχειρινοῦς αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι τοὺς περὶ Διωνίδαν καὶ δεξασθῆναι τοὺς βαρβάρους εἴπω Πυλῶν ἰάσασθαι δὲ τὰ παλαιά. τῆς νῦν Ῥωμαίων στρατείας ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους καὶ νῦν ἡγεμονίας τοῦτων τεκμηρίον ὥς δ' αὖτως τὴν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ Καλτούς, ἐν ἑλισσι καὶ δρυμοῖς αἰβυτοῖς ἱερήμιας τε τοπομαχοῦντας τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὰ ἐργὰ πόρρω ποιούντων τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκτετυγμένους καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας τροφῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἑλλαν.

C 11 16 Τὸ μὲν δὴ πλεον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, περὶ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἡγεμονικοῖς βίοις καὶ τὰς χρῆσιν ἔστιν ἔστι<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ πολιτικῆς τὸ πλεον περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονικοὺς βίους σημεῖον δὲ τὰς γὰρ τῶν πολιτειῶν διαφορὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν διακρίνομεν, ἄλλην μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τιθέντες τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἣν καὶ βασιλείαν καλοῦμεν, ἄλλην δὲ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν. τοσαύτας δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας νομιζομεν, ὁμῶς καλοῦντες ὥς δὲ ἀπ' ἑκινῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσας τῆς εἰδοποιίας· ἄλλοις<sup>3</sup> γὰρ νόμος τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πρόσταγμα, ἄλλοις<sup>3</sup> δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀριστῶν,

<sup>1</sup> περὶ. Cobet, for πρὸς.

<sup>2</sup> τὰς χρῆσιν ἔστιν. ἔστιν. H. Weil, Meineke, for τὰς χρῆσιν ἔστιν. H. Weil, Cobet independently, C. M. for τὰς χρῆσιν ἔστιν.

<sup>3</sup> ἄλλοις, Madvig, for ἄλλοις. A. Vogel approves.

<sup>1</sup> Under Augustus and Tiberius no Roman army invaded Parthia, apparently. Strabo must be thinking of the campaign of Crassus or of that of Antony—or of both campaigns.

<sup>2</sup> The campaign of Diames, apparently, which he carried on till his death in 9 B.C. But if Diames, only be acknowledged to the time when Strabo wrote (see Introduction, pp. xxiv ff.),

by showing the Persians the pathway across the mountains, put Leonidas and his troops at their mercy, and brought the Persians south of Thermopylae. But leaving antiquity I believe that the modern campaign of the Romans against the Parthians is a sufficient proof of what I say and likewise that against the Germans and the Celts, for in the latter case the barbarians carried on a guerilla warfare in swamps in pathless forests, and in deserts, and they made the ignorant Romans believe to be far away what was really near at hand and kept them in ignorance of the routes and of the facilities for procuring provisions and other necessities.

18 Now just as the greater part of geography, as I have said, has a bearing on the life and the needs of rulers, so also does the greater part of the theory of ethics and the theory of politics have a bearing on the life of rulers. And the proof of this is the fact that we distinguish the differences between the constitutions of states in the sovereigns in those states, in that we call one sovereign the monarchy or kingship, another the aristocracy, and still another the democracy. And we have a corresponding number of constitutions of states, which we designate by the names of the sovereigns, because it is from these that they derive the fundamental principle of their specific nature. For in our country the will of the king is law. In another the will of those of highest rank, and in another the will of the

or if the above reference was inserted in a revised edition about A.D. 1850. We may also note that the name of the author of the "History of the Republics of the World" is given as "The Republics of the World" in the title of the book. The name of the author is given as "The Republics of the World" in the title of the book. The name of the author is given as "The Republics of the World" in the title of the book.

καὶ τὸ τοῦ δήμου. τίποσ δὲ καὶ σχῆμα πολιτείας ὁ νόμος δια τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶπον τινες το τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον. εἴπερ οὖν ἡ πολιτικὴ φιλοσοφία περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὸ πλεονέκτημα ἔστιν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ γεωγραφία περὶ τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς χρείας, ἔχει ἄν τι πλεονέκτημα καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ τοῦτο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τὰς πράξεις.

19 Ἐχει δὲ τιμὴ καὶ θεωρίαν οὐ φαύλην ἢ πραγματεία, τὴν μὲν τεχνικὴν τε καὶ μαθηματικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ καὶ μυθοῖς κειμένην, οὐδὲν οὖσι πρὸς τὰς πράξεις οἷον εἴ τις λεγοί τὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως πλάνην καὶ Μενελάου καὶ Ἰάσονος, εἰς φρονήσιν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν συλλαμβάνειν δοξέειν, ἦν ὁ πρῶτων ζητεῖ, πλὴν εἰ καταμίσθοι καὶ τῶν γενομένων ἀναγκαίως τὰ παραδείγματα χρήσιμα διαγωγῇ δ' ὅμως πορίζοι ἂν οὐκ ἀνελευθερον τῇ ἐπιβάλλοντι ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς παρὰσχοντας τὴν μυθωποιαν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ζητοῦσιν οἱ πράττοντες διὰ τὸ ἔνδοξον καὶ τὸ ἡδύ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ μάλλον γὰρ σπουδάζουσιν, ὥς εἰκόσ, περὶ τὰ χρήσιμα διόπερ καὶ τῇ γεωγραφίᾳ τούτων μάλλον ἢ ἐκείνων ἐπιμαλῆτιον. ὥς δ' αὐτὰς ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων· καὶ γὰρ τούτων τὸ χρήσιμον αἰεὶ μάλλον ληπτέον καὶ τὰ πιστοτέρων.

<sup>1</sup> The definition ascribed to Thrasymachus, Plato's *Republic*, l. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo has in mind his theory (which he often takes occasion to uphold), as to the comparative mythical and historical elements in Homer and other poets.

people. It is the law that gives the type and the form of the constitution. And for that reason some have defined "justice" as "the interest of the more powerful." If then political geography deals chiefly with the rulers, and if geography supplies the needs of those rulers, then geography would seem to have some advantage over political science. This advantage, however, has to do with practice.

18 And yet a work on geography as an involves theory of no mean value: the theory of the arts, of mathematics and of natural science, as well as the theory which lies in the fields of history and myths<sup>2</sup>—though myths have nothing to do with practice, for instance, if a man should tell the story of the wanderings of Theseus or Menelaus or Jason, it would not be thought that he was making any contribution to the practical wisdom of his hearers—and that is what a man of affairs demands—nor can he should insert the useful lessons to be drawn from the hardships those heroes underwent. Still he would be providing no mean entertainment for the hearer who takes an interest in the regions which furnished the scenes of the myths. Men of affairs are fond of just such entertainment, because the localities are famous and the myths are charming, but they care for no great amount of it since they are more interested in what is useful—and it is quite natural that they should be. For that reason the geographer, also, should direct his attention to the useful rather than to what is famous and charming. The same principle holds good in regard to history and the mathematical sciences: for in these branches, also, that which is useful and more trustworthy should always be given precedence.



20 Μάλιστα δὲ δοκεῖ καθαπερ εἶρηται γεωμετρίας τε καὶ ἀστρονομίας δεῖν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποθεσεῖν. καὶ δεῖ μὲν ὥς ἄληθῶς σχήματα γὰρ καὶ πλῆματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταῦτοις αἰεὶ εὐχόμενον τε λαβεῖν καλῶς ἔκαστῃ τῆς τοιαύτης μεθοδου· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν τῆς ὅλης γῆς ἐν ἄλλοις δεικνυουσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑποθεσεῖν δεῖ καὶ πιστεῦσαι τοῖς ἐκείνῃσι βεβαιότατοις, ὑποθέσθαι δεῖ<sup>1</sup> καὶ σφαιροειδῆ μὲν τὸν κόσμον σφαιροειδῆ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιφανείαν τῆς γῆς, ἵτι δὲ ταύτας προτερον τὴν ἐπὶ το μέσον τῶν σωματικῶν φοράν αὐτὸ μαρτυροῦν, εἰ τι<sup>2</sup> τῆς αἰσθησεως ἢ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν ἔγγυς ἐστίν, εἰ ἄρα, ἐπιστημηνάμενοι ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ μικρῇ οἶον ὅτι ἡ γῆ σφαιροειδής, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ το μέσον φοράς πόρρωθεν ἢ ὑπομνησῖς καὶ τοῦ ἑκαστον σώματος ἐπὶ το αὐτοῦ ἔρτημα κενεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κατὰ πειράγην καὶ τοῦ

C 12

οὐρανὸν φαινομένων ἔγγυθεν καὶ γὰρ ἡ αἰσθησις ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν δύναται καὶ ἡ κοινὴ ἐννοία· φανερόν γάρ ἐπιπροσθεῖ τοῖς πλείουσιν ἡ κυριότης τῆς θαλάττης, ὥστε μὴ προσβαλλεῖν τοῖς πυρρῶν φειγῇ τοῖς ἐπ' ἴσον ἐξηρημένοις<sup>3</sup> τῇ ὄψει. ἐξαρθέντα γοῦν πλέον τῆς ὁψείως ἐφανή, καίτοι πλέον ἔπω-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Orosius for δὲ.    <sup>2</sup> εἰ τι, Madvig for εἰ τι.

<sup>3</sup> Maunooke wrongly appends ἐξηρημένοις τοῖς ἐξηρημένοις.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 2, page 22.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo uses the word in its literal sense of "spherical" and not in its geometrical sense. The sphericity of the earth in the modern sense appears not to have been ascribed until the seventeenth century. (See 2, 5, 5.)

<sup>6</sup> Strabo here means all the heavenly bodies. According to his conception, the earth was stationary and all the heavenly bodies revolved about the earth from east to west, the heavens having the same centre as the earth. The Greek

§1 Most of all it seems to me, we need as I have said geometry and astronomy for a subject like geography and the need of them is increased for without such methods as they offer it is not possible accurately to determine our geometrical figures, "magnitudes", dimensions, and the other cognate things but just as these sciences prove for us in other treatises all that has to do with the measurement of the earth as a whole and as I must in this treatise take for granted and accept the propositions proved there so I must take for granted that the universe is sphere-shaped<sup>1</sup> and also that the earth's surface is sphere-shaped, and, what is more, I must take for granted the law that is prior to these two principles namely that the bodies tend toward the centre<sup>2</sup>, and I need only indicate in a brief and summary way, whether a proposition comes if it really does within the range of sense-perception or of intuitive knowledge. Take for example the proposition that the earth is sphere-shaped whereas the suggestion of this proposition comes to us immediately from the law that bodies tend toward the centre and that each body inclines toward its own centre of gravity the suggestion comes immediately from the phenomena observed at sea and in the heavens, for our sense-perception and also our intuition can bear testimony in the latter case. For instance, it is obvious the curvature of the sea that prevents sailors from seeing distant lights at an elevation equal to that of the eye, however, if they are at a higher elevation than that of the eye, they become visible, even though they be at a word *deipon* here you figure every man a weight suspended by a cord or otherwise. *Exemplum* means the such body is moved as it were from its own respective position of suspension to the centre of the earth.

σχόντα αὐτῆς· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ μετεωρισθεῖσα εἶδε τὰ κεκρυμμένα πρότερον. ὅπερ δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ ποιητής· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἔστι καὶ τὸ

ὄξυ μᾶλα προΐδων, μέγαν ὑπὸ κύματος  
ἀρθείς. (Οἶ. 5. 393)

καὶ τοῖς προσπλέουσι δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπο-  
γυμνοῦνται τὰ πρόσγεια μέρη, καὶ τὰ φανέντα ἐν  
ἀρχαῖς ταπεινὰ ἐξαίρεται μᾶλλον. τῶν τε οὐρανί-  
ων ἡ περιφορὰ ἐναργής ἐστι καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
γνωμονικῶν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτων εὐθὺς ὑποτείνει καὶ ἡ  
ἐννοια, ὅτι ἐρριζωμένης ἐπ' ἀπειρον τῆς γῆς οὐκ  
ἂν ἡ τοιαύτη περιφορὰ συνέβαινε. καὶ τὰ περὶ  
τῶν κλιμάτων δὲ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν οἰκήσεων  
δείκνυται.

21 Νυνὶ δὲ ἐξ ἑτοίμου δεῖ λαβεῖν ἕνα, καὶ  
ταῦθ' ὅσα τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ τῷ στρατηλάτῃ χρή-  
σιμα. οὔτε γὰρ οὕτω δεῖ ἀγνοεῖν τὰ περὶ τοῖ  
οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῆς γῆς, ὥστ', ἐπειδὴ  
γένηται κατὰ τόπους, καθ' οὓς ἐξήλλακται τινα  
τῶν φαινομένων τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,  
ταράσσεσθαι καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγειν·

ὦ φίλοι, σὺ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν δπη<sup>1</sup> ζόφος, οὐδ' δπη  
ῆως,  
οὐδ' ὅπη ἡέλιος φαεσίμβροτος εἰς' ὑπὸ γαίαν,  
οὐδ' δπη ἀννέεται. (Οἶ. 10. 190)

οὐθ' οὕτως ἀκριβοῦν, ὥστε τὰς πανταχοῦ συνανα-  
ταλάς τε καὶ συγκαταδύσεις καὶ συμμεσουρανή-

<sup>1</sup> δπη—δπη—δπη—δπη, Stacretti, for δπη—δπη—δπη—δπη.

greater distance from the eyes, and similarly if the eyes themselves are elevated, they see what was before invisible. This fact is noted by Homer also, for such is the meaning of the words "With a quick glance ahead, being upborne on a great wave [he saw the land very near]." So, also, when sailors are approaching land the different parts of the shore become revealed progressively more and more, and what at first appeared to be low-lying land grows gradually higher and higher. Again, the revolution of the heavens but is evident on many grounds, but it is particularly evident from the phenomena of the equinox and from these phenomena our intuitive judgment itself suggests that no such revolution could take place if the earth were rooted to an infinite depth.<sup>1</sup> As regards the "climates" they are treated in our discussion of the Inhabited Districts.

2) But at this point we must assume off-hand a knowledge of some matters, and particularly of all that is useful for the statesman and the general to know. For one should not on the one hand, be so ignorant of the heavens and the position of the earth as to be alarmed when he comes to countries in which some of the celestial phenomena that are familiar to everybody have changed, and to exclaim "My friends to now we know not where is the place of darkness nor of dawn nor where the sun, that gives light to men, goes beneath the earth, nor where he rises", nor on the other hand, need one have such scientifically accurate knowledge as to know what constellations rise and set and pass the

<sup>1</sup> This was the doctrine of Anaximenes and Anaximander.  
See footnote 2, page 22.

σεις καὶ ἐξάρματα πόλων καὶ τὰ κατὰ κορυφὴν σημεῖα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὰς μεταπτώσεις τῶν ὀριζούντων ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν διαφέροντα ἅπαντᾶ, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ φύσει, γνωρίζειν ἅπαντα· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μὴδ' ὅλως φροντίζειν, πλὴν εἰ θέας φιλοσόφου χάριν, τοῖς δὲ πιστεύειν, κἂν μὴ βλέπῃ τὸ διὰ τί· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ταῦ φιλοσοφούντος μόνου, τῷ δὲ πολιτικῷ σχολῆς οὐ τοσαύτης μέτεστιν, ἢ οὐκ αἰεὶ. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως ὑπάρχειν ἁπλοῦν δεῖ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇ γραφῇ ταυτῇ καὶ ὕργυν, ὥστε μὴδὲ σφαῖραν ἰδεῖν, μὴδὲ κύκλους ἐν αὐτῇ, τοὺς μὲν παραλλήλους, τοὺς δ' ὀρθίους πρὸς τοῦτους, τοὺς δὲ λοξοὺς· μὴδὲ τροπικῶν τε καὶ ἰσημερινοῦ καὶ ζωδιακοῦ θέσιν, δεῖ οὐ φερόμενος ὁ ἥλιος τρέπεται καὶ διατάσσει<sup>1</sup> διαφορὰς κλιμάτων τε καὶ ἀνέμων, ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀριζοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρκτικούς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀγωγὴν τὴν εἰς τὰ μαθήματα παραδίδοται κατανοήσας τις ἄλλως πῶς δύναται παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐνταῦθα. ὁ δὲ μὴδ' εὐθείαν γραμμὴν ἢ περιφερῆ, μὴδὲ κύκλον εἰδώς, μὴδὲ σφαιρικὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ ἐπίπεδον, μὴδ' ἐν τῷ αὐρανῷ μὴδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀρκτοῦ ἀστερας καταμαθών, μὴδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων μὴδὲν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν

<sup>1</sup> διατάσσει, Madvig, for διδάσκει.

meridian at the same time everywhere, or as to know the elevations of the poles, the constellations that are in the zenith and all other such changing phenomena as meet one according as he changes his horizons and arctic circles—whether those changes be merely visual or actual as well. Nay, he should pay no attention at all to some of these things, unless it be in order to view them as a philosopher. But he should take some other things on faith, even if he does not see a reason for them—for the question of causes belongs to the student of philosophy alone, whereas the statesman does not have adequate leisure for research or at least not always. However, the reader of this book should not be so simple minded or indifferent as not to have observed a globe or the circles drawn upon it, some of which are parallel, others drawn at right angles to the parallels, and still others oblique to them; or, again, so simple as not to have observed the position of the tropics, equator, and zodiac—the region through which the sun is borne in his course and by his turning determines the different zones and winds. For if one have learned even in a superficial way, about these matters, and about the horizons and the arctic circles and all the other matters taught in the elementary courses of mathematics, he will be able to follow what is said in this book. If, however, a man does not know even what a straight line is, or a curve, or a circle, nor the difference between a spherical and a plane surface, and if in the heavens, he have not learned even the seven stars of the Great Bear, or anything else of that kind, either he will have no use for this book, or else

<sup>1</sup> See 2. 2. 2, and footnote.



not at present—in fact, not until he has studied those topics without which he cannot be familiar with geography. And so those who have written the treatises entitled *Harbours and Coast of England* leave their investigations incomplete, if they have failed to add all the mathematical and astronomical information which proper ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> required in their books.

2. In short, a book of this kind should be generally useful, useful alike to the statesman and to the public at large—as was my work on *History*.<sup>1</sup> In this work, as in that, I mean by “statesman,” not the man who is who is uneducated, but the man who has taken the round of courses, and in the case of freedom or of students of geography. For the man who has given no thought to virtue and to practical wisdom, and to what has been written about them would not be able even to form a sound opinion either in censure or in praise, nor yet to pass judgment upon the matters of historical fact that are worthy of being recorded in this treatise.

3. And so after I had written my *Historical Sketches*, which have been useful I suppose, for more and perhaps geography I determined to write the present treatise also, for this work itself is based on the same plan, and is addressed to the same class of readers, and particularly to men of exalted station in life. Furthermore, just as in my *Historical Sketches* only the incidents in the lives of distinguished men are recorded, while deeds that are petty and ignoble are omitted, so in this work I begin the record of events prior to the opening and subsequent to the close of the Hellenic Period. That it is not merely an outline of the events which the world has just passed, but a complete history from old times to the time of the Empire.



παραλείπεται, κἀνταῦθα δεῖ τα μικρὰ καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ παραπέμπειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ ἐν οἷς τὸ πραγματικὸν καὶ εὐμνημόνευτον καὶ ἡδὺ διατρίβειν, καθάπερ τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐν τοῖς κολοσσικοῖς ἔργοις οὐ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβὲς ζητοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καθόλου προσέχομεν μᾶλλον. εἰ καλῶς τὸ ὅλον· οὕτως κἀν τούτοις δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι  
C 14 τὴν κρίσιν. κολοσσουργία γάρ τις καὶ αὐτή, τὰ μεγάλῃ φράζουσα πῶς ἔχει καὶ τὰ ὅλα, πλὴν εἴ τι κινεῖν δύναται καὶ τῶν μικρῶν τὸν φιλειδημονα καὶ τὸν πραγματικόν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν σπονδαῖον τὸ προκαίμενον ἔργον καὶ φιλοσόφῳ πρέπον, ταῦτα εἰρήσθω.

## II

I Εἰ δὲ πολλῶν προειπόντων ἐπιχειροῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγειν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οὕτω μεμπτέον, ἂν μὴ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διελεγχθῶμεν ἐκαίνοις ἅπαντα λέγοντες. ὑπολαμβάνομεν δ' ἄλλων ἄλλο τι κατορθωσάντων ἄλλο πολὺ μέρος ἔτι τοῦ ἔργου λείπεσθαι πρὸς οἷς ἂν καὶ μικρὰν προσλαβεῖν δυνηθῶμεν, ἱκανὴν δὲ τίθεσθαι πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πολὺ τι τοῖς νῦν ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια καὶ τῶν Παρθυαίων τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας προσδέδωκε· καθάπερ ταῖς προτέροις μέγα τι ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεία,<sup>2</sup> ὧς φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας

<sup>1</sup> τε, Μείνεκε, for γε.

<sup>2</sup> καθάπερ τοῖς προτέροις μέγα τι ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεία, C. Müller, for καθάπερ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείαν.

also I must leave untouched what is petty and inconspicuous, and devote my attention to what is noble and great, and to what contains the practically useful, or memorable, or entertaining. Now just as in judging of the merits of colossal statues we do not examine each individual part with minute care, but rather consider the general effect and endeavour to see if the statue as a whole is pleasing, so should this book of mine be judged. For it, too, is a colossal work, in that it deals with the facts about large things only, and wholes, except as some petty thing may stir the interest of the studious or the practical man. I have said thus much to show that the present work is a serious one, and one worthy of a philosopher.

## II

1 If I, too, undertake to write upon a subject that has been treated by many others before me, I should not be blamed therefor, unless I prove to have discussed the subject in every respect as have my predecessors. Although various predecessors have done excellent work in various fields of geography, yet I assume that a large portion of the work still remains to be done, and if I shall be able to make even small additions to what they have said, that must be regarded as a sufficient excuse for my undertaking. Indeed, the spread of the empires of the Romans and of the Parthians has presented to geographers of to-day a considerable addition to our empirical knowledge of geography, just as did the campaign of Alexander to geographers of earlier times, as Eratosthenes points out. For Alexander

πολλὴν ἀνεκάλιψεν ἡμῖν καὶ τῶν βορείων τῆς  
Εὐρώπης ὅπαντα μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ· αἱ δὲ Ῥω-  
μαῖοι τὰ ἑσπερία τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅπαντα μέχρι  
Ἀλβίου ποταμοῦ τοῦ τὴν Γερμανίαν διχαθε-  
ροῦντες, τὰ τε πέραν Ἰστροῦ τὰ μέχρι Τύρα  
ποταμοῦ τὰ δὲ ἑκκείνη μέχρι Μαιωτῶν καὶ τῆς  
εἰς Κόλχους τελευτώσης παραλίας Μιθριδάτης ὁ  
ἐκλήθει Εὐπάτωρ ἐποίησε γνώριμα καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου  
στρατηγοὶ αἱ δὲ Παρθυαῖοι τὰ περὶ τὴν Τρε-  
κίαν καὶ τὴν Βακτριανὴν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων  
Σειθας γνωριμωτέρους ἡμῖν ἐποίησαν, ἦττον  
γνωριζόμενους ὑπὸ τῶν πρυτέρων ὥστε ἔχομεν  
ἢ τι λέγειν πλέον τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν. ὅρᾳ δ' ἔσται  
τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ  
ἡμῶν, ἦττον μὲν τοὺς πάλαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς μετ'  
Ἐρατοσθένη καὶ αὐτὸν ἑκείνον οὐτ' εἰκὸς ὁσπερ  
πολυμαθέστεροι τῶν πολλῶν γεγονόσι, τοσούτῳ  
δυστηλεγκτοτέρους εἶναι τοῖς ὑστερον, ἢ τι πλεον-  
μέλως λέγωσι. εἰ δ' ἀναγκασθῇσιν μεθ' αὐτοῖς  
αὐτοῖς ἀντιλεγεῖν, οἷς μάλιστα ἐπακολουθούμεν  
κατὰ τὰλλα,<sup>1</sup> δεῖ συγγνωμὴν ἔχειν, οὐ γὰρ  
προκειται πρὸς ὅπαντας ἀντιλεγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς  
μὲν πολλοὺς ἴσθαι, οἷς μὴδὲ ἀκολουθεῖν ἀξίον  
ἑκείνους δὲ διακτᾶν, οὗς ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις κατωρ-  
θωκοτάς ἴσμεν. σπῆσι οὐδὲ πρὸς ὅπαντας φιλο-

<sup>1</sup> μέχρι Μαιωτῶν, for μέχρι.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὰλλα, Cuius, for κατὰ ἄλλα.

<sup>3</sup> Danube.

<sup>4</sup> Libya.

<sup>5</sup> Pamphylia.

<sup>6</sup> Sea of Azov.

<sup>7</sup> Southern Caucasus.

opened up for us geographers a great part of Asia and on the northern part of Europe as far as the Ister River, the Rhodanus are made known at the western part of Europe as far as the River Arno which divides Germany into two parts and the regions beyond the Ister as far as the Arno River and Alexander returned Eupator, and his generals have made known the regions beyond the Ister as far as Lake Maeotis and the coast that ends at Colchis and again the Persians have increased our knowledge regard to Hyrcania and Parthia and in regard to the Scythians who live north of Hyrcania and Parthia all of which countries were not perfectly known to the earlier geographers. I sometimes may have something more to say than my predecessors. I as will become more fully apparent as we shall have to say in criticism of my predecessors. In my criticism has less to do with the earliest geographers than with the successors of Eratosthenes and Strabo and himself. For it stands to reason that because Eudoxides and his successors have had wider knowledge than our geographers I will be more pardoning more difficult for a later geographer to expose their errors if they say anything sensible. And if I occasionally occasion, be compelled to contradict the very men whom in all other respects I must always I beg to be pardoned for it is not my purpose to contradict every individual geographer but rather to leave the most of them out of consideration men whose arguments it is unnecessary even to follow and to pass upon the opinion of those men whom we recognise to have been correct in most cases. Indeed, to engage in philosophical

σοφείν ἄξιον, πρὸς Ἑρατοσθένη δὲ καὶ Ἰππαρχον καὶ Ποσειδώνιον<sup>1</sup> καὶ Πολυβιον καὶ ἄλλους τισιούτους καλόν.

C 15 2 Πρῶτον<sup>2</sup> δ' ἐπισκεπτίον Ἑρατοσθένη, παρατιθέντας ἅμα καὶ τὴν Ἰππαρχον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιλογίαν. ἔστι δ' ὁ Ἑρατοσθένης οὕθ'<sup>3</sup> οὕτως εὐκατατροχαστος, ὥστε μὴδ' Ἀθῆνας αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν φασκεῖν, ὅπερ Πολεμνὸν ἐπιχειρεῖ δεικνύναι οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πιστός, ἐφ' ὅσον παρεδείξαντό τινα, καίπερ πλείστοις ἐντυχάν, ὡς εἴρηκεν αὐτοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι. ἐγενοντο γὰρ φησιν, ὡς οὐδικοτε, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑφ' ἑνα περιβολῶν καὶ μίαν πυλιν οἱ<sup>4</sup> κατ' Ἀρίστωνα καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον ἀνθίσαντες φιλόσοφοι οὐχ ἴκανον ὁρῆσαι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ το κρινεῖν καλῶς, οἷς μᾶλλον πειστέον<sup>5</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαον καὶ Ἀρίστωνα τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθίσαντων κορυφαίους τίθησιν, Ἀπελλῆς τε αὐτῷ πολὺ ἐστὶ καὶ Βίων, ὃν φησι πρῶτον αἰθινὰ περιβαλεῖν φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ἂν τινα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο

οἷν ἐκ βακίων ὁ Βίων. (Οἶκ. 18. 74)

ἐν αἰταῖς γὰρ ταῖς ἀποφασεσι ταύταις ἰκανῶς ἀσθενείαν ἐμφαίνει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἢ τοῦ Ζημῆνος τοῦ Κιτιέως γνώριμος γενομένος Ἀθηνησι

<sup>1</sup> Ἰππαρχον καὶ Ποσειδώνιον, Brongel, for Ποσειδώνιον καὶ Ἰππαρχον, Meineke following.

<sup>2</sup> πρῶτον Brongel, for πρῶτον; Meineke following.

<sup>3</sup> οὕθ' Meineke for οὐχ

<sup>4</sup> κατ' Ὑπὸν καὶ ἀετίας, after αἰ, Meineke following.

<sup>5</sup> πειστέον, the correction of the prima manus, Brongel, A. Vogel, πρῶτος, for πρῶτος καὶ.

discussion with everybody is unseemly, but it is honourable to do so with Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Posidonius, Ptolemy, and others of their type.

2 First, I must consider Eratosthenes, at the same time setting forth the objections which Hipparchus urges against the statements of Eratosthenes. Now Eratosthenes is not so open to attack as to warrant my saying that he never saw even Athens as Polemon undertakes to prove; nor, on the other hand, is he so trustworthy as some have been taught to believe that he is notwithstanding the fact that he had been associated with many eminent men as he himself tells us. "For," says he, "philosophers gathered together at this particular time as never before within one wall or one city; I refer to those who flourished in the time of Ariston and Arcesilaus." But I do not think that sufficient, what we need is a clear cut judgment as to what teachers we should choose to follow. But he places Arcesilaus and Ariston at the head of the scholars who flourished in his day and generation, and Apelles is much in evidence with him, and so is Dion, of whom he says "Dion was the first to drape philosophy in embroidered finery," and yet he states that people frequently applied to Dion the words "Such a thing as Dion knew, from out his cage."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in these very statements Eratosthenes reveals a serious infirmity in his own judgment, and because of this infirmity, although he himself studied in Athens under Zeno of Citium, he makes

<sup>1</sup> The original allusion is to "the old man" Odysseus, Od. 16. 74.

τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων διαδοξαμένων οὐδενὸς μέμνηται  
 τοὺς δ' ἐκείνῳ διευχθέντας καὶ ὧν διαδοχὴ αὐτῷ  
 μὴ σφίζεται, τοὺτους αἰθίσει φησὶ κατὰ τὸν  
 καιρὸν ἐκείνων. ἤηλοι δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς πραγματεία καὶ μελίται καὶ  
 εἴ τι ἄλλα τοιοῦτο τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ αὐτοῦ διότι μισοί  
 ἦν τῷ τε βουλευμένῳ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τοῖς μὴ  
 θεωροῦντος ἐγχειρίζειν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ὑποσχέσιν  
 ταύτην, ἀλλὰ μόνον μέχρι τοῦ δοκεῖν προκινῶντος ἢ  
 καὶ παριέχασιν τινα ταύτης ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν  
 ἐγγυελίων πεπορισμένου πρὸς δαγώγην ἢ καὶ  
 παιδείαν τρόπον ἢ τινα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἄλλοις ἔστι  
 τοιοῦτος ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα ἐπισθῶ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς δεῖκα εἶναι  
 ἐπιχειρῶντες, ὅσα δύναται ἄν, ἀπαγορεύουσι τὴν  
 γραφικὴν, καὶ πρῶτον ὅπερ ἄρτιος ὑπερὶ  
 θέμεθα.

3 Ποιετὴν γὰρ ἔφη πάντα στοχυίζεσθαι ψυχ  
 ἀγωγίας οὐ διδάσκαλας τοῦναρτιον ὃ οἱ παλαιοὶ  
 φιλοσοφίαν τινα λεγούσι πρῶτης τῆς ποιητικῆς,  
 εἰπωγούσαν εἰς τὸν βίον ἡμᾶς ἐκ νέων καὶ διήκο  
 ούσαν ἴθι καὶ πύθη καὶ πρυξίει μεθ' ἡρόνῃ  
 οἱ δ' ἡμετέροι καὶ μόνον ποιητὴν ἔφασκεν εἶναι  
 τοῦ σοφόν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αἱ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων πολεῖς πρῶτιστά διὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς  
 παιδεύουσιν, οὐ ψιχαγωγίας χάριν διηκούθεν  
 ψιλῆς, ἀλλὰ σφρόντισμου ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ μου  
 σικοὶ ψαλλεῖν καὶ λυμίζειν καὶ συλεῖν διδάσκοντες

<sup>1</sup> εἰσθῶν. Collet. hoc εἰσθῶ.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek word here used is *aignasthai*. The poem here  
 formed a part of the Old comedy, and was wholly incidental  
 to the main action of the play.

no mention of any of Zoro's surroundings, but speaks of those men who differed from the teachings of Zoro and who failed to establish a religion. He called after them as "heretics" at that point in time. His language indicated the heretics as of the time of the Zoroastrian and whatever else he wrote of this nature go to show his least tendency that of the man who is constant in his religious beliefs, his desire to be a purveyor and his resistance to decide himself entirely in the present and what therefore surrounds in advancing us to enough to have the appearance of being a purveyor of the man who has provided the world with a different from his regular work either in his pastime or even amusement and in a matter that of times display this tendency in his other writings, but that at the present time we prefer perhaps I must correct Zoroastrianism as given in the last volume and last, on the point which is referred to in the text.

3. As I was saying, Zoroastrianism contends that the aim of every man is to attain to the highest. The ancient world on the contrary that poetry is a kind of elementary education which taking us up our very highest attainments as to the art of life and instructs us with regard to our lives in character, emotions and actions. And our school goes still further and contends that the wise man knows is a poet. For it is no wonder why in Greece the various states educate the young at the very beginning of their education in the study of poetry, not for the mere sake of entertainment but of course, but for the sake of more knowledge. Why even the philosophers, when they give instruction in logic, in



μεταποιοῦνται τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης παιδευτικοί  
γὰρ εἶναί φασι καὶ ἐπανορθωτικοί τῶν ἡθῶν.  
ταῦτα δ' οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀκούειν  
ἐστὶ λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστοξενος οὕτως ἀπο-  
φαίνεται. καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ τοὺς ἀοιδοὺς σωφρο-  
νιστὰς εἵρηκε, καθάπερ τὸν τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας  
φύλακα,

οἳ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν  
Ἄτρεΐδης Τροίηνδε κιῶν εἶρυσθαι ἄκοιτιν,  
(Od. 3. 367)

τόν τε Αἴγισθον οὐ πρότερον αὐτῆς περιγενέσθαι,  
πρὶν ἢ

τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νῆσαν ἐρήμην  
κάλλιπεν·  
τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν οἶνδε δάμονδε.  
(Od. 3. 270)

χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἑρατοσθένης ἐαυτῷ μάχεται·  
μικρὸν γὰρ πρὸ τῆς λεχθείσης ἀποφάσεως ἐναρ-  
χομενος τοῦ περὶ τῆς γεωγραφίας λόγου φησὶν  
ἅπαντας κατ' ἀρχὰς φιλοτίμως ἔχειν εἰς τὸ μέσον  
φέρειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων ἱστορίαν. Ὅμηρον  
γοῦν ὑπὲρ τε τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ὅσα ἐπυθετο κατα-  
χωρίσαι εἰς τὴν ποιήσιν καὶ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυ-  
πτον καὶ Λιβύην, τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ  
τοὺς σύνοργους τόπους καὶ λίαν περιέργως ἐξενηνο-  
χέναι, πολυτρήρωνα μὲν τὴν Θίοβην λέγοντα  
(Il. 2. 502), Ἀλῖαρτον δὲ ποιηεντα (ib. 503),  
ἐσχατῶσαν δὲ Ἀνθηδόνα (ib. 508), Αἰλαίαν δὲ  
πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισσοῖο (ib. 523), καὶ οὐδαμῶς  
προσθήκην κενῶς ἀπορρίπτειν, πότερον οὖν ὁ  
ποιῶν ταῦτα ψυχαγωγοῦντι ἔοικεν ἢ διδάσκοντι;

lyre-playing, or in flute-playing, lay claim to this virtue, for they maintain that these studies tend to discipline and correct the character. You may hear this contention made not merely by the Pythagoreans, but Aristoxenus also declares the same thing. And Homer, too, has spoken of the Lards as disciplinarians in morality, as when he says of the guardian of Clytemnestra "Whom the son of Atreus as he went to Troy strictly charged to keep watch over his wife", and he adds that Agesthus was unable to prevail over Clytemnestra until "he carried the bard to a lonely isle and left him there—while as for her, he led her to his house, a winning lady with a willing lover". But, even apart from this, Eratosthenes contradicts himself, for shortly before the pronouncement above mentioned, and at the very beginning of his treatise on geography, he says that from the earliest times all the poets have been eager to display their knowledge of geography, that Homer for instance, made a place in his poems for everything that he had learned about the Ethiopians and the inhabitants of Egypt and Libya and that he has gone into superfluous detail in regard to Greece and the neighbouring countries, speaking of Thibe as the "haunt of doves, Haliartas as "grass, Antiledon as "on the uttermost borders," Lileas as "by the springs of Cepheus", and he adds that Homer never lets fall an inappropriate epithet. Well then I ask is the poet who makes use of these epithets like a person engaged in entertaining, or in





4. Ἄλλὰ μὲν ταῦτά γε πάντα ὁ ποιητὴς  
Ὀδυσσεὶ προσήψεν, ὃν τῶν πάντων μάλιστα  
ἀρετῇ πάσῃ κοσμεῖ· οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νοοῦ ἔγνω,  
(Od. 1. 3)

οὗτός τε ὁ

εἰδὼς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μῆδεα πυκνά.  
(Il. 3. 202)

οὗτος δ' ὁ "πολλίπορθος" αἰεὶ λεγόμενος καὶ το  
ἴλιον ἔλων

βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἡπεροπηίδι τέχνῃ·  
τούτοι γ' ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο  
ἄμφω νοστήσαιοιμεν,  
(Il. 10. 246)

φησὶν ὁ Διομήδης· καὶ μὲν ἐπὶ γε τῇ γεωργίᾳ  
σεμνύνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀμῆτι,

ἐν πόλῃ δρέπανον μὲν ἐγὼν εὐκαμπὲς ἔχοιμι,  
καὶ δὲ σὺ τοῖον ἔχῃς·  
(Od. 18. 368)

καὶ ἐν ἀρότῳ,

τῷ κέ μ' ἴδοις, εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην.  
(Od. 18. 375)

καὶ οὐχ Ὅμηρος μὲν οὕτω φρονεῖ περὶ τούτων,  
οὐχὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι μάρτυρι  
χρῶνται τῷ ποιητῇ, ὥς ορθῶς λεγόντι, περὶ τοῦ  
τὴν τοιαύτην ἐμπειρίαν εἰς φρόνησιν συντείνειν  
μάλιστα.

δ. Ἡ δὲ ῥητορικὴ φρονησίς ἐστι δῆπον περὶ  
λόγους· ἣν ἐπιδείκνυται παρ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν  
Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν τῇ Διατείρῃ, ἐν ταῖς Λιταῖς, ἐν  
τῇ Πρεσβείᾳ, ἐν ᾗ φησὶν  
(Il. 2 ; 9, 3)

4. Assuredly Homer has attributed all knowledge of this kind, at least, to Odysseus, whom he adorns beyond his fellows with every kind of excellence, for his Odysseus "of many men the towns did see and minds did learn," and he is the man who "is skilled in all the ways of wile and cunning device." Odysseus is continually spoken of as "the sacker of cities" and as the capturer of Troy "by means of his counsels and his persuasiveness and his deceitful arts"; and Diomedes says of him, "But while he cometh with me, even out of burning fire might we both return." More than that, Odysseus prides himself on being a farmer. For instance, with regard to reaping he says "In the deep grass might the match be, and might I have a crooked scythe, and thou another like it", and with regard to ploughing: "Then shouldst thou see me, whether or no I would cut a clean furrow unbroken before me." And not only does Homer thus possess wisdom about these matters, but all enlightened men cite the poet as a witness whose words are true, to prove that practical experience of this kind contributes in the highest degree to wisdom.

5. Rhetoric is, to be sure, wisdom applied to discourse; and Odysseus displays this gift throughout the entire *Iliad*, in the *Trial*, in the *Prayers*, and in the *Embassy*, where Homer says "But when

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δῶκα το μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἶη  
καὶ ἔπει νιφυδένσιν ἰοικυτά χριμερηίσιν  
εὐα δὲ κτεῖτ Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' εἰσσεύα μῖρος ἄλλος  
(*Il.* 3. 221)

τίς δ' οὖν ὑπολαβεῖ τον δυνάμειος ποιητῆν  
εἰσαγεῖν ῥητορευόντας ἑτέρους καὶ στρατηγουντας  
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιδεικνύμετους τὰ τῆς κρητικῆς ἔργα,  
αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν φλυμῶν ἔνα καὶ τῶν θαυματε-  
ποιῶν, γοητεῖν μοῦον καὶ κατασκευεῖν τον προ-  
την δυνάμειος, ὥφελει δὲ μῦθον προτερεν' ὃ  
οὐδ' ἀρετῆς ποιητοῦ λεγομεν δὲ ηντικούν ἄλλῃν  
ἢ τῆς μιμητικῆς τοῦ βίου διηλῶτων. πῶς δὲ  
οὗς μιμοῖτο ἀπειρος ὢν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἡφρων  
οὐ γὰρ οὕτω φάμεν τὴν τῶν ποιητῶν ἀρετὴν  
ὥς ἐν' ἱστορίῳ ἢ χαλκίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν  
εὐδαιμονία ἔχεται καλῶ καὶ σεμνῶ, ἡ δὲ πεινὴ καὶ  
συνῆσταται τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὐχ οἷον τε  
ἐπαθὲν γενεσθαι ποιητῆν, μὴ προτερεν γενηθέντα  
ἀνδρα ἀγαθόν.

4. Τὸ δὲ ἢ καὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι  
τον ποιητῆν τελευτῇ ἀφαιδούντος ἡμῶν ἐστί. τι  
γὰρ οὕτω ῥητορικόν, ὥς φράσις, τι δ' οὕτω  
ποιητικόν, τίς δ' ἀμεινων Ὀμηρου φράσαι, νῆ  
Διὸς ἀλλ' ἑτέρω φράσις ἢ ποιητικὴ τῇ γε εἰζῆς,  
ὥς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ποιητικῇ ἢ τραγικῇ καὶ ἡ  
κωμικῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ πεζῇ ἢ ἱστορικῇ καὶ ἡ δίκαι-  
ατικῇ ἄρα γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ λόγος ἐστί γινικος, οὐ αἰδῶ

<sup>1</sup> ὁμοίως. ἐκείνη, ἐκείνη. C. M. 'loc. cit.' ἢ

<sup>2</sup> ἐν' ἱστορίῳ, loc. cit. q; ἐκείνη τῶν ποιητῶν, C. Muller  
apponing.

he uttered his great voice from his chest, and words like unto the snowflakes of winter, then could no mortal man contend with Odysseus. Who, then, can assume that the poet who is capable of introducing other men in the role of orators, or of giving us in other ways that call for the accomplishments of excellence, is himself but one of the jugglers or jugglers, capable only of bewitching and flattering his hearer but not of being himself? Now can we assume that any excellence of a poet whatever is superior to that which induces him to imitate life through the means of speech? How then can a man imitate life if he has no experience of life and is a dolt? Of course we do not speak of the excellence of a poet in the same sense as we speak of that of a carver or a blacksmith, for the excellence depends upon no inherent quality and depends wholly upon the excellence of a poet is inseparably associated with the excellence of the man himself and it is impossible for one to become a great poet unless he has previously become a good man.

6. So then, to deny the art of rhetoric to Homer is to disregard my position entirely. For what is so much a part of rhetoric as style? And what is so much a part of poetry? And who has surpassed Homer in style? "Assuredly," you answer, "but the style of poetry is different from that of rhetoric." In species, yes, just as in poetry itself the style of tragedy differs from that of comedy, and in prose the style of history differs from that of forensic speech. Well then would you assert that discourse is not a generic term, either, whose

<sup>1</sup> *Phronesis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Phronesis*.



ὁ ἱμμετρος καὶ ὁ πεζος, ἢ λόγος μὲν, ῥητορικὸς δὲ λόγος οὐκ ἔστι γενικὸς καὶ φράσις καὶ ἀρετὴ λόγου. ὥς δ' εἶπεν, ὁ πεζος λόγος, ὃ γὰρ κατασκευασμένος, μῆμα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἔστι. πρωτίστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν εἰτα ἐκείνην μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τὰλλα δὲ φυλαξάντες τὰ ποιητικὰ συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Καδμόν καὶ Φερεκύδη καὶ Ἑλεταίων εἰτα οἱ ὑστερον, ἀφαιρούντες αἰεὶ τι τῶν τοιούτων, εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατήγαγον, ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ ὕψους τινός· παθὺν περ δὲ τι καὶ τὴν κωμῆδιαν φαιη λαβεῖν τὴν σύστασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας, καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ὕψους καταβιβασθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ λογοειδὲς ἐνὶ καλουμένον. καὶ το αἰεῖδεν δὲ ἄντι τοῦ φράζειν τιθιμενον παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι ταῦτο τοῦτο ἐμαρτυρεῖ, διότι πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ φρουσεως κατασκευασμένης καὶ ῥητορικῆς νηήρξιν ἡ ποιητικὴ. αὕτη γὰρ προσεχρησασα τῇ μάλει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιδείξεις· τοῦτο δ' ἦν λόγος μαμελισματος ἢ αἰδή· ὡς οὐδὲ βραψῳδιαν τ' ἄλγρον καὶ τραγῳδιαν καὶ κωμῆδιαν. ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ φράζειν πρωτίστα ἐπὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἐλέγχετο φρασσεως, αὕτη δὲ μετ' αἰδῆς ὑπήρξε παρ' ἑκείνοισι, τὰ αἰεῖδεν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ φραζειν.<sup>1</sup> καταχρησαμένων δ' αὐτῶν θατίρη

<sup>1</sup> ἔστιν παραλλήλως ἢ πρὸς, A. Müller, for πρὸς ἢ λόγος μαμελισμένος

<sup>2</sup> αὕτη δὲ μετ' αἰδῆς ἐπὶ ἔρχετο παρ' ἑκείνοισι, τὸ αἰεῖδεν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ φραζειν, Spengel, for αὕτη δὲ μετ' αἰδῆς, τὸ αἰεῖδεν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ φραζειν ἐπὶ ἔρχετο παρ' ἑκείνοισι; C. Müller conjecting.

species are metrical discourse and prose discourse? Or rather is discourse in its broadest sense generic, while rhetorical discourse is not generic, and style excellence of discourse are not? But prose and discourse I mean artistic prose is I may say, an imitation of poetic discourse, for poetry as an art, first came upon the scene and was first to win approval. Then came Lachius, Pherecrates, Hecataeus and their followers with prose writings in which they imitated the poetic art, abandoning the use of metre but in other respects preserving the qualities of poetry. Then subsequent writers took away each in his turn, something of these quantities and brought prose down to its present form, as from a sublime height. In the same way one might say that comedy took its structure from tragedy, but that it also has been degraded from the sublime height of tragedy to its present "prosaic" state as it is called. And further the fact that the ancients used the verb "sing" instead of the verb "to write" bears witness to this very thing, namely, that poetry was the source and origin of style. I mean artistic, or rhetorical, style. For when poetry was created it employed the assistance of song. This combination furnished metrical discourse or "ode" and prose "ode." They began to use the terms rhapsody, tragedy and comedy. Therefore, "verse" was first used in reference to poetic "style" and verse among the ancients this poetic style was accompanied by song the term "sing" was to them equivalent to the term "to write," and then after they had misused the former of these two terms by applying it to prose

<sup>1</sup> Pherecrates.

<sup>2</sup> Pherecrates.

καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἐπὶ θάτερον ἢ κατά-  
χρησις διέβη. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πεζὸν λεχθῆναι τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον τοῦ μέτρου λόγον ἐμφαίνει τὸν ἀπὸ ὕψους  
τινὸς καταβάντα καὶ ὀχηματος εἰς τοῦδαφος.

7 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ σύνοργον μόνον, ὥσπερ  
Ἐρατοσθένης εἶρηκε, καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πορρω πολλὰ λέγει· καὶ δι' ἀκρι-  
βείας Ὅμηρος καὶ μᾶλλον γε τῶν ὕστερον μυθο-  
λογεῖται, οὐ παντα τερατευόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς  
ἐπιστήμην ἀλλιγορῶν ἢ διασκευάζων ἢ δημα-  
γωγῶν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσεύς  
πλάνην· περὶ ἧς πολλὰ διαμαρτύνει, τοὺς τ'  
ἐξηγητὰς φλυάρους ἀποφαίνων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν  
ποιητὴν περὶ ὧν ἄξιον εἰπεῖν διὰ πλείονων.

8 Καὶ πρῶτον ὅτι τοὺς μυθοὺς ἀπεδέξαντο  
C 19 οὐχ οἱ ποιηταὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ πόλεις  
πολὺ πρότερον καὶ οἱ νομοθέται τοῦ χρησίμου  
χάριν, βλέψαντες εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν πάθος τοῦ  
λογικοῦ ζῴου· φιλειδήμων γὰρ ἄνθρωπος<sup>1</sup> προοί-  
μιον δὲ τοῦτον τὸ φιλόμυθον· ἐνταῦθεν οὖν  
ἄρχεται τὰ παιδία ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν  
λόγων ἐπὶ πλείον. αἴτιον δ', ὅτι καινολογία  
τίς ἐστίν ὁ μῦθος, οὐ τὰ καθεστηκότα φράζων,  
ἀλλ' ἕτερα παρὰ ταῦτα· ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ καινὸν καὶ  
δ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνω τις τοῦτο δ' αὐτό ἐστι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> *ἄφρωνος*, Meineke, (for *ἐφρωνος*) Cobet also independ-  
dently.

discovered, the mouse passed over to the latter term also. And, furthermore, the very fact that non-metres discourse was termed "pedestrian," indicates its descent from a height or from a chariot, to the ground.

7 Nor indeed is the statement of Protonotenes true that Homer speaks only of places that are near by and in Greece. On the contrary, he speaks also of many places that are distant, and when Homer indulges in myths as is at least more accurate than the later writers, since he does not deal wholly in myths but for our instruction he also uses allegory or revises myths or carries popular favour, and particularly in his story of the wanderings of Odysseus and Eteolochos makes many mistakes when he speaks of these wanderings and declares that not only the commentators on Homer but also Homer himself are deceived in some cases. But it is worth my while to examine these points more in detail.

8 In the first place I remark that the poets were not alone in sanctifying myths, for long before the poets the states and the lawgivers had sanctioned them as a useful expedient, since they had an insight into the natural affections of the reasoning animal, for man is eager to learn and his fondness for tales is a prelude to this quality. It is fondness for tales, then, that induces children to give their attention to narratives and more and more to take part in them. The reason for this is that myth is a new language to them—a language that tells them, not of things as they are, but of a different set of things. And what is new is pleasing and gives what one did not know before, and it is just this that makes men eager to

τὸ ποιοῦν φιλειδήμονα. ὅταν δὲ προσῇ καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τὸ τερατῶδες, ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἡδονήν. ἥπερ ἔστι τοῦ μαθάνειν φίλτρον. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀνάγκη τοιοῦτοις διδασσι χρῆσθαι, προΐούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων μαθησιν ἄγειν, ἥδη τῆς διανοίας ἐρρωμένης καὶ μηκέτι δεομένης κολακῶν καὶ ἰδιωτικῆς δὲ πῦς καὶ ἀπαίδευτος τροπὴν τινὰ παῖς ἔστι φιλομυθεῖ τε ὡσαύτως ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ πεπαιδευμένος μετρίως· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος ἰσχυεῖ τῇ λογισμῷ, προσεσσι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ παιδὸς ἔθος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ μόνον ἡδύ, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερὸν τὸ τερατῶδες, ἀμφοτέρων ἔστι τῶν εἰδῶν χρεῖα πρὸς τε τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ· τοῖς τε γὰρ παισὶ προσφέρομεν τοὺς ἡδέεις μύθους εἰς προτροπὴν, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ τοὺς φοβερούς· ἢ τε γὰρ Ἀδμια μῦθος ἔστι καὶ ἡ Γοργὼ καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ ἡ Μορμολύκη. οἷ τε πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς πόλεις οἰκούντων εἰς μὲν προτροπὴν ἄγονται τοῖς ἡδέσι τῶν μυθῶν, ὅταν ἀκούωσι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνδραγαθήματα μυθῶδι διηγουμένων, οἷον Ἰπρακλείους ἀθλοῦν ἢ Θησέως, ἢ τιμας παρὰ θεῶν νεμνίμνας, ἢ τὴν Δία ὁρῶσι γραφὰς ἢ ξοανα ἢ πλάσματα τοιαύτην τινὰ περιπέτειαν ὑποσημαινοντα μυθῶδι εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δέ, ὅταν κολασεῖς παρὰ θεῶν καὶ φοβουε καὶ ἀπειλας ἢ διὰ λόγων ἢ διὰ τύπων ἀοράτων<sup>1</sup> τινῶν προσδέχωνται, ἢ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἀοράτων, Κρατερ, Μαινέκε, for ἀόρων, above which see is written is Δ. See *Classical Journal* 1814, 112.

learn. But if you add thereto the marvels and the portents you thereby increase the measure and secure acts as a charm to incite to courage. As in beginning we must needs make use of such but for children not as a means of advancing them we must guard it to be knowledge of facts when once his intelligence has matured strong and no suggestions to be mixed. Now every child and uneducated man is in a sense a child and the child he is full of stories and for that matter so is the uneducated man for his reason & faculty has not been fully developed and indeed the mental habits of his childhood persist in him. Now since the portents are not appearing out fear appearing as well as courage in the minds of earth for children and for grown-up people too. In the case of children we stress the meaning with to give them and the marvellous seems to deter them for instance Lusus is a child and so are the virgin and the child and the child. Many of these stories & the tales are those, for example by the mothers that are passing which they hear the poets narrate with a decided realism such as the legends of Hercules or of Theseus or hear of horrors begotten in goblin-world when they see paintings or pictures wages or words of sculpture which suggest are more or more more of course in imagination but these are derived from old courses when either through legends or through typical representations of birds beasts they speak of divine punishments, terrors, and threats or even

<sup>1</sup> A type of the child, however of children, in the ancient nursery-legends.

<sup>2</sup> The great ones were put out by Apollo and Heracles. <sup>3</sup> A human game.

[illegible]

3. Άντε έλ' πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἔλ'· καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μα-  
θηταῖς ἀποφύγετε τὸ πλῆθος· ἵνα οὐκ ἐπὶ  
ταλαιφώνῃ· ὅτι ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ βασι-  
τεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τῇ ᾗ ὁ ἀνταρραγὼν καὶ στρα-  
τεύων τὸ πλῆθος.

! yo. Matsuko for re C Matsuo approving

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\* 14 what is the balance to be

■ *deputing*: substituting, from the margin of A, for *deputare*.

when they merely believe that men have met with such experiences. For in dealing with a crowd of women at least or with any promiscuous mob, a philosopher cannot influence them by reason or exhort them to reverence, duty and faith: nay there is need of religious fear also, and this cannot be aroused without myths and marvels. For thunder-bolt, ægis, trident, torches, snakes, thyrsus, anæres,—arms of the gods—are myths, and so is the entire ancient theology. But the founders of states gave their sanction to these things as bugbears wherewith to scare the simple minded. Now since this is the nature of mythology, and since it has come to have its place in the social and civic scheme of life as well as in the history of actual facts, the ancients clung to their system of education for children and applied it up to the age of maturity, and by means of poetry they believed that they could satisfactorily discipline every period of life. But now, after a long time, the writing of history and the present day philosophy have come to the front. Philosophy, however, is for the few, whereas poetry is more useful to the people at large and can draw full houses: and this is exceptionally true of the poetry of Homer. And the early historians and physicians were also writers of myths.

9. Now inasmuch as Homer referred his myths to the province of education, he was wont to pay considerable attention to the truth. "And he mingled therein" a false element also, giving his sanction to the truth, but using the false to win the favour of the populace and to out-general the manner-



ὥς ὃ ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ,  
(*Od.* 6. 232)

οὕτως ἐκείνοι ταῖς ἀληθείαι περιπεταίαις προσε-  
τίθει<sup>1</sup> μυθόν, ἡδυνῶν καὶ κοσμών τὴν φρασίν·  
πρὸς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ τοῦ τὰ  
ὄντα λέγοντος βλέπων. οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε Ἰλιακὸν  
πολεμὸν γηγονυτά παραλαβὼν ἐκοσμήσε ταῖς  
μυθοποιαις, καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσείῳ πλῆμην ὡσαύτως  
ἐκ μηδανὸς δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἀνύπτειν κεινὴν τερατο-  
λογίαν οὐχ Ὀμηρικόν· προσπίπτει γὰρ, ὥς εἶκος,  
ὥς πιθανώτερον ἂν οὕτω τις ψεύδοιτο, εἰ κατὰ  
μίσθοι τι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀληθειῶν<sup>2</sup> ὅπερ καὶ  
Πολυβίος φησὶ περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύος πλάνης ἐπι-  
χειρῶν τοιοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ

ἴσα ψεῦδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα·  
(*Od.* 19. 203)

οὐ γὰρ πάντα, ἀλλὰ πολλά, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἦν  
ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. ἔλαβεν οὖν παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας  
τὰς ἀρχάς· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Αἰόλον<sup>3</sup> δυναστεῦσαι  
φησὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Λιπάραν νήσων, καὶ τῶν  
περὶ τὴν Αἴτην καὶ Λεοντίην Κυκλάδας καὶ  
Λαιστρυγόνας ἀξενουσι τινὰς δια καὶ τὰ περὶ  
τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπροσπέλαστα εἶναι τοῖς τότε, καὶ  
τὴν Χαριβδίην καὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον ὑπὸ ληστῶν  
κατέχεσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ὑπὸ  
Ὀμηροῦ λεγομένων ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ἱστοροῦμεν·  
οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους εἰδὼς οἰκοῦντας

<sup>1</sup> προστίθει, *Cotana*, for προστιθέναι. *Cobet* independently.

<sup>2</sup> On the passage ὅτε ἰσ. ἀληθ., see R. Zuckermann, *Hesperus* 23, 125. <sup>3</sup> Αἰόλον, *Meisecke*, for Αἰεών.

"And as when some skilful man overlays gold upon silver, just so was Homer wont to add a mythical element to actual occurrences, thus giving flavour and adornment to his style: but he has the same end in view as the historian or the person who narrates facts. So, for instance, he took the Trojan war, an historical fact, and decked it out with his myths, and he did the same in the case of the wanderings of Odysseus, but to hang an empty story of marvels on something wholly untrue is not Homer's way of doing things. For it occurs to us at once, doubtless, that a man will be more plausibly if he will mix in some actual truth just as Polybius says, when he is discussing the wanderings of Odysseus. This is what Homer himself means when he says of Odysseus, "So he told many lies in the likeness of truth," for Homer does not say "all but many" lies, since otherwise they would not have been "in the likeness of truth." Accordingly, he took the foundations of his stories from history. For instance, history says that Acæus was once king over the islands about Lipara, and that the Cæcæopæ and the Laestrygonians, inhospitable peoples, were lords over the region about Aetna and Leontine, and that for this reason the region about the Strait might not be visited by men of that time, and that Charybdis and the Rock of Scylla were infested by brigands. And from history we learn that the rest of the peoples mentioned by Homer lived in other parts of the world. And, too, it was on the basis of Homer's actual knowledge that the Cimmerians lived

τὸν Κιμμερικὸν βόσπορον πρὸς βορρῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ ζο-  
φώδῃ μετήγαγεν οἰκείως εἰς σκοτεινοὺς τινα τόπους  
τὸν καθ' Ἑλλήνων, χρήσιμον ὄντα πρὸς τὴν μυθο-  
ποιίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ. ὅτι δ' οἶδεν αὐτοὺς,  
οἱ χρονογράφοι δηλοῦσιν, ἢ μικρὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
τὴν τῶν Κιμμερίων ἔφευδον ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀναγρά-  
φοντες.

- C 21 10. Ὡσαύτως<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοὺς Κόλχους εἰδὼς καὶ  
τὸν Ἰάσονος πλαῦν τὸν εἰς Ἀίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ  
Κίρκης καὶ Μηδείας μυθεύόμενα καὶ ἱστορούμενα  
περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοιοτροπίας,  
συγγενείας τε ἔπλασε τῶν οὕτω διφικισμένων,  
τῆς μὲν ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Πόντου, τῆς δ' ἐν τῇ  
Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ ἐξωκεανισμὸν ἀμφοῖν, τάχα καὶ τοῦ  
Ἰάσονος μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας πλανηθέντος· δεί-  
κνυται γάρ τινα<sup>3</sup> καὶ περὶ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη καὶ  
περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν καὶ ἐν τῷ Ποσειδωνιάτῃ κόλπῳ  
καὶ ταῖς πρὸ τῆς Τυρρηνίας νήσοις τῆς τῶν Ἀρ-  
γοναυτῶν πλάνης σημεῖα. προσέδοσαν δέ τι καὶ  
αἱ Κυάνεαι, ὥσπερ Συμπληγάδας καλοῦσι πέτρας  
τινές, τραχὺν ποιῶσαι τὸν διέκπλουν τὸν διὰ τοῦ  
Βυζαντιακοῦ στόματος· ὥστε παρὰ μὲν τὴν Αἴαν  
ἢ Αἰαίη, παρὰ δὲ τὰς Συμπληγάδας αἱ Πλαγκταί,

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς βορρῶν, Madvig, for πρὸς βορρῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Ὡσαύτως, the reading of the MSS., is retained by Kramer and Meineke, C. Müller approving.

<sup>3</sup> σημεῖα after τῶν, Meineke deletes, following suggestion of Müller-Dübner.

about the Cimmerian Hesperus, a gloomy country in the north that he traversed them, quite appropriately to a certain gloomy region in the neighbourhood of Hades—a region that suited the purpose of his mythology in telling of the wanderings of Odysseus. The writers of *Leviathan* make it plain that Homer knew the Cimmerians, in that they fix the date of the invasion of the Cimmerians either a short time before Homer, or else in Homer's own time.

10 And likewise it was in the basis of Homer's actual knowledge of the existence, of Jason's expedition to Aea, and of the stories of fact and fiction told about Circe and Medea regarding their use of magic potions and their general similarity of character that he invented a kind of relationship between the two although they lived so very far apart the one in the remote recess of the Pontus, and the other in Italy and also invented a residence for both of them out by Ocean: though it may be that Jason wandered as far as Italy for there are some indications that point to the wanderings of the Argonauts in the region of the Caucasian Mountains<sup>1</sup> about the Asiatic Sea<sup>2</sup> in the Gulf of Persia<sup>3</sup> and in the islands that lie off Lybæna. And the Caneas<sup>4</sup> also, which some call the Symplegades,<sup>5</sup> furnished the poet an additional matter of fact, in that they made the passage through the mouth of the strait at Bosphorum very difficult, so that when we compare the Aeneas of Circe with the Aeneas of Medea, and Homer's Phæacians<sup>6</sup> with the Symplegades,

<sup>1</sup> The Kimera Mountains in Albania.

<sup>2</sup> See "18."

<sup>3</sup> In the Black Sea.

<sup>4</sup> Wandering Rocks.

<sup>5</sup> Mouth of the Strait.

<sup>6</sup> Clashing Rocks.

καὶ ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν πλοῦς τοῦ Ἰάσονος πιθανὸς ἐφάνη  
παρὰ δὲ τὴν Σκυλλαν καὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν ὁ δὲ διὰ τῶν  
σκοπέλων πλοῦς ἀπλῶς δ' οἱ τότε τὸ πέλαγος  
τὸ Ποντικὸν ὥσπερ ἄλλον τινὰ ὠκεανὸν ὑπε-  
λαμβάνον, καὶ τοὺς πλεοντας ἐκείσε ὁμοίως  
ἐκτοπιζειν ἔδοκουν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἔξω Στηλῶν ἐπὶ  
πολὺ προϊόντας· καὶ γὰρ μέγιστον τῶν καθ'  
ἡμᾶς ἐνομιζέτο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἰδίως  
παντὸς προσηγορευον, ὡς ποιητὴν Ὅμηρον ἴσως  
οὖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετήνεγκε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου  
πρὸς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ὡς εὐπαρίδεκτα δια τὴν  
κατεχούσαν δοξαν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν Σολύμων  
τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Ταύρου τὰ περὶ τὴν Λυκίαν ἕως  
Πισιδίας κατεχόντων τὰ ὑψηλότερα, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ  
τῆς μισημβρίας υπερβολᾶς ἐπιφανιστικὰς παρε-  
χόντων τοῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς  
περὶ τὸν Πόντον, καθ' ὁμοιοτητά τινα καὶ τουτοὺς  
ἐξωκεανισθῆναι φησὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλεοντος ἐν τῇ  
σχεδίᾳ.

τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀνιὼν κρείων Ἐννοσίχθων  
τηλοθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων ἶδεν. (Od. 5. 282)

τάχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μονομύτους Κύκλωπας ἐκ  
τῆς Σκυθικῆς ἱστορίας μετενηνοχα τοιούτους γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Draw a north and south line from the poet's point of observation (near the Black Sea) through the Scythian Mountains and through Egypt to the Rhinoceros on Oceanus south of Egypt. Then draw a north and south line from Odysseus' point of observation (on his raft, west of Greece) to the Ethiopian living on Oceanus due south of the raft. Homer transfers the Solymi and their mountains from his own due-south line of vision to an analogous position on Odysseus' due-south line of vision. Just as these mountains,

Jason's voyage through the Minotaur was clearly  
 plausible and so was Odysseus' passage between  
 the Phaeacians when we think of his adventures.  
 Again the men of Ithaca and the Phaeacians regarded  
 the Phaeacian sea as a kind of sacred theatre, and  
 they thought that those who voyaged thence got  
 beyond the limits of the inhabited world just as  
 much as those who voyaged far beyond the pillars  
 of Heracles. The Phaeacian sea was thought to be the  
 largest of the sea to our part of the world and for  
 that reason they applied to this particular sea the  
 term "The Phaeacian" just as they spoke of Homer  
 as "The Phaeacian". Perhaps it was for just very reasons  
 that Homer transferred to the Phaeacians things that were  
 true of the Phaeacians in the world that to-day's changes  
 would prove acceptable because of the growing  
 nations in regard to the Phaeacians. And I think that  
 when the Greeks saw the highest peaks of the  
 Taurus Range I mean the peaks about Irbid as far  
 as Petra and since their minds were excited to  
 people who lived south of the Taurus Range and  
 particularly to those who lived about the Phaeacians  
 the most conspicuous actions on the south for  
 this reason on the strength of a certain similarity  
 of position these people were transferred to the  
 position now by the Greeks. For in speaking of Odysseus  
 sailing on his raft he says "Now the end the close  
 of the east on his way from the Ethiopians beyond  
 Odysseus from afar from the mountains of the  
 Nymphs". Perhaps Homer saw in Homer his idea  
 of the one-eyed cyclopes from the history of myth.

to Homer from on the northern border of the Hades  
 realm on the southern border of the Hades realm  
 of Jason. Again refer to last on page 127

τιμας τοῖς Ἀριμεσποῦς φασιν, οἷα ἐν τοῖς Ἀριμασπειοῖς ἔπεισιν ἐνδεῶκεν Ἀριστίαν ὁ Ἱεροκλῆς ἐρησιος

- 11 Δεῖ δὲ ταῦτα προὑποθέμενον σκοπεῖν, τί λέγουσιν οἱ φησάντες περὶ Σικελίαν ἢ Ἰταλίαν γένεσθαι τῇ Ὀδυσσεὶ τὴν πλάνην καθ' Ὅμηρον<sup>1</sup> ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωτ' αὐτοῖς διεξασθαι, καὶ βέλτιον καὶ χειρόν. βέλτιον μὲν, ἂν οὕτω δεχῆται τις, ὅτι πεισθίει ἐκεῖ τὴν πλάνην τῇ Ὀδυσσεὶ γένεσθαι, λαβὼν ἀληθῆ ταύτην τὴν ὑποθεσιν παρὰ τικῶς διασκεύασθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ οἰκείως ἂν λεγοίτο περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μόνον γε περὶ Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὀχευμάτων τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν Ἰχθὺν τῆς ἐκείνου πλάνης καὶ ἄλλων πλειονῶν· χειρόν δέ ἐστιν τις καὶ τὴν διασκευὴν ὥς ἱστορικῶς δεχῆται, ἔκκευον ὤκεανον καὶ Ἄδην καὶ Ἰλίου βόας καὶ παρὰ θείας ξυνίας καὶ μεταμορφώσεως καὶ μεγέθους Κυκλωπῶν καὶ Λαιστρυγόνων καὶ μορφῆς Σκύλλης καὶ διαστήματα πλοῦ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω τοιαῦτα τερατογραφούντος φανερώς· οὔτε δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ὕψιον ἀντ. λέγειν, οὕτω φανερώς καταψευδομένου τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καθάπερ οὐδ', εἰ φαιή, τοῦτον τὸν ἥροκλῆν γενέσθαι τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην κατὰ πλοῦν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ τὴν μνησθηροφορίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ συνστάσαν μάχην τοῖς Ἰθακησίοις πρὸς αὐτόν· οὔτε πρὸς τὸν δεξιόμενον οἰκείως προσπλέκεσθαι δίκαιον.

<sup>1</sup> ἢ μὴ γένεσθαι, Μουσικῆς ἀντίστοιχον, οἷον καθ' Ὅμηρον, Eschylum, Kramm, C. Mailler approving.





12 Ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ πρὸς ἀμφότερας τὰς ἀποφύσεις ἀπηντήκεν οὕτως· πρὸς μὲν τὴν βυ-  
 τταν, ὅτι πειρᾶται διαβῦλλειν φατερώς ψευδῇ  
 καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου διὰ μακρῶν πρὸς ἑα τῆς προ-  
 τεραι, ποιήτην τε ὅπαντα ἀποφῆναι φλίκρον, καὶ  
 μῆτε τῶν ἀμπειριῶν μῆτε τοχιῶν πρὸς μετῆς  
 συνταίρειν νομίσαι τῶν τε μίθων τῶν μετ' ἐν  
 τούτοις οὐ πεπλησμένοιι πεφημισμένων, οἷον ἐν  
 Ἰλίου καὶ Ἰδῆ καὶ Πηλίου, τῶν δὲ ἐν πεπλησ-  
 μνοῖς, καθάπερ ἐν οἷς αἱ Ἰοργυνεὶ ἢ οἱ Ἰηυνοντες,  
 ταυτὴς φησι τῇ ἰδίᾳ εἶναι καὶ τοῖν κατὰ τῆς  
 Ὀδυσσεὺς πλανῆς λεγομένοις, τοὺς δὲ μὴ πε-  
 πλησθαι λέγοντας ἄλλ' ὑποκείσθαι ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 μὴ συμφωνεῖν εἰληγχεσθαι ψευδοκίμους· τὰς γοῦν  
 Σειρήνας τοὺς μετ' ἐπὶ τῇ Πειλαριῦδι καθιδόμεναι,  
 ταύτας δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Σειρηνοῦσσῶν πλείους ἢ διαχι-  
 λιοὺς διεχουσῶν σταδίου εἶναι ὅς αὐταὶ σκοπελοῦ  
 τρικυρφοῦ διεργοντα τοῦ Κυμαίου· καὶ Ἰορσεῖ  
 δωδεκίτην κόλπον. ἄλλ' οἷός ἐστι σκοπελος οὗτος  
 ἵσθαι τρικυρφός, οἷός ἐστις κόρυφούται πρὸς  
 ὕψος, ἀλλ' ὅγῃσιν τι ἔκεται μακρὺς καὶ στενός  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Συρρεντῶν<sup>1</sup> χωρίων ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ  
 Λαυρίας πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ μὲν τῇς ἀριστερῆς  
 τοῦ τῶν Σειρηνοῦσσῶν ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ δὲ πρὸς  
 τῇ Ἰορσείδωνιατῃ κόλπῳ ὑψιδαῖς τρεῖς προκείμενα  
 ὄρημα πετρώδη, ὅς καλοῦσι Σειρήνας· ἐπ' αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> Κυμαίου. Meineke, for Κύμαιο, G. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> οἷός ἐστι, Meineke for οἷός ἐστι

<sup>3</sup> Συρρεντῶν, Meineke, for Συρρεντων, G. Müller approving



δὲ τῷ πορθμῷ τὸ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπερ ὁμωνυμεῖ καὶ ὁ ἀγκῶν αὐτός.

C 23 13. Ἄλλ' οὐδ' <sup>1</sup> εἰ μὴ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν τόπων παραδιδόντες εὐθὺς ἐκβάλλειν δεῖ τὴν σύμπασαν ἱστορίαν· ἄλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ πιστοῦσθαι τὸ καθόλου μᾶλλον ἔστιν. οἷον λέγω, ζητούμενον, εἰ κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἢ πλείη γέγονε, καὶ εἰ αἱ Σειρήνες ἐνταῦθ' αὐτοῦ λέγονται, ὁ μὲν φήσας ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Σειρηνοῦσσαις διαφωνεῖ, ἀμφότεροι δὲ πρὸς τὸν περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν λέγοντα οὐ διαφωνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζω πιστὴν παρέχουσιν, ὅτι, καίπερ μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον φροῖζοντες, ὁμοῦ οὐκ ἐκβεβήκεσάν γε τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἢ Σικελίαν. ἐὰν δὲ προσθῇ τις, ὅτι ἐν Νεαπόλει Παρθενόπης δεικνύται μνῆμα, μᾶς τῶν Σειρήνων, ἔτι πλείων προσεγέμετο πιστις, καίτοι τρίτου τινὸς λεχθέντος τούτου τοῦ τόπου. ἄλλ' ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόλπῳ, τῷ ὑπὸ Ἐρατοσθένους λεχθέντι Κυμαίῳ, ὃν ποιοῦσιν αἱ Σειρηνοῦσαι, καὶ ἡ Νεάπολις ἴδρυται, βεβαιότερος πιστευομένη τὸ περὶ ταύτους τοὺς τοποὺς γεγονέναι τὰς Σειρήνας· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τυθέσθαι, αἰσθ' ἡμῖς παρ' ἐκείνου ζητοῦμεν τὸ ἀκριβές· οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οὕτως ἔχομεν ὥς ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ μηδὲν

<sup>1</sup> εἴθ', Meineke, for εἴτ'

<sup>1</sup> That is, Cape Minerva.

is situated the metecy of Athens, from which the elbow takes its name.<sup>1</sup>

It is a pity that if those who bend down to us our knowledge of the region under consideration do not agree among themselves we should not on that account set aside the entire body of that knowledge. Indeed there are times when the account as a whole is so the more to be accepted for its truth. For example, because the question is raised whether the mountains took place in the region of Sicily and Italy and whether the seven Rocks are anywhere there or not. The man who places the seven Rocks on the Peloponnese is in disagreement with the man who places them on the Sicily, but neither disagrees with the man who says that the seven Rocks are placed in the geographical Sicily and Italy, for they even add to the evidence of the third stream, even though they do not name the proper spot for the Rocks, yet at all events they are not gone beyond the region of Italian Sicily for the Peloponnese. If we add that a monument of the ancient world is shown in Neapoli we have still further proof, although a third one has been introduced into the discussion. Furthermore the fact that Neapoli is a very old city and is situated in the gulf of Cumae, which is formed by the Sirens, induces us to believe all the more firmly that the Sirens were in the neighborhood of these places, for we do not demand of the poet that he should have required accurately into every detail nor do we in our school demand scientific accuracy in his statements, yet even so, we are not entitled to assume that Homer composed the story of the

επισημάνουσιν περὶ τῆς πληνῆς, μήθ' ὅπου μήθ' ὅπως γένηται ραψοδίῳ.

14 Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ Ἡσιόδου μὲν εἰκυζει πε-  
πισμένον περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσεως πληνῆς, ὅτι κατὰ  
Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν γένηται πιστευόμενα τῇ  
δοξῇ μὴ μοῖον τῶν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου λεγομένων μίμῃ  
σθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰτῆς καὶ Ὀρτυγίας, τοῦ πρὸς  
Συρακουσάς κρητοῦ, καὶ Τυρρηκῶν. Ὀμήρου δὲ  
μήτε εἰδέναι τὰν α, μήτε βουλευσθαι ἐν γυναικί  
τοποῖς ποιεῖν τὴν πληνῆν. ποτέρον οὖν Αἰτῆ  
μὲν καὶ Τυρρηκῶν γυναικί, Σικυλλίων δὲ καὶ  
Χάριθιδος καὶ Κιρκαιῶν καὶ Σειρηνοῦσσαι οὐκ ἔστιν,  
ἢ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἔπρεπε μὴ φλυαρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς  
κατεχούσαις ἐξαιεῖ ἀπολουθεῖν. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ "πῶν  
ἔ τι τον' ἔπ' σκαίριον, ἢ γλῶσσαν ἢ κελῆειν"  
χωρεῖ γὰρ τῶν λεχθέντων περὶ τοῦ τυτοῦ τῆς  
πρεπουσῆς Ὀμήρῳ μυθοποιεῖται, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος  
τῶν συγγραφέων τῶν ταυτὰ θρυλούντων καὶ  
τῆς κατὰ τοὺς τοποῖς ἐπιχωριαζύουσης φήμης  
διδασκαίει δύναται, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ ποιητῶν πλεον-  
ματὰ ἔστιν οὐδὲ συγγραφέων, ἀλλὰ γεγενημένων  
ἰχθῆ καὶ προσώπων καὶ πραγμάτων.

15 Καὶ Πολύβιος δ' ὁρθῶς ὑπονοεῖ τὰ περὶ τῆς  
πληνῆς τὴν γὰρ Ἀιολίαν,<sup>1</sup> τὰς προσημειωμένας<sup>2</sup>  
τοὺς ἔκπλους ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πορθήμον τοποῖς  
ἀμφιδρομοῖς οὔσι καὶ δυσεκπλοῖς διὰ τὰς πελιδ-

<sup>1</sup> cf. Cobet, *loc. cit.* and γλῶσσας (αὐτὴ ἡ Μοῖρα ἡ πορτίς)  
for γλῶσσας in keeping with the proverb attributed to  
Pindar: *Non Dargh i uale un St Adam 36 a.*

wanderings without any inquiry at all, either as to where or as to how they occurred.

14 But Eratosthenes conjectures that Hesiod learned by inquiry that the scene of the wanderings of Odysseus lay in the region of Sicily and Italy, and, adopting this belief, mentioned not only the places spoken of by Homer, but also Actina, Otrigia, the little island east to Syracuse, and Tyrrhenia, and yet he contends that Homer knew nothing about these places and had no intention of placing the wanderings in any known regions. Now were Actina and Tyrrhenia well-known places, but Scyllaeum, Caryakia, Carceum, and the Sirenaeae wholly unknown.<sup>1</sup> Or was it the proper thing for Hesiod not to take notice and to follow prevailing opinions, but the proper thing for Homer to "give utterance to every thought that comes to his impetuous tongue"? For most of what I have said concerning the type of myth which it was proper for Homer to employ, most of the writers who discuss the same topics that Homer discusses, and also most of the various local traditions, can teach us that these matters are not fictions of poets nor yet of prose writers, but are traces of real persons and events.

15 Ptolemy also entertains correct views in regard to the wanderings of Odysseus for he says that Aeolus, the man who taught navigators how to steer a course in the regions of the Strait of Messina, whose waters are subject to a constant ebb and flow and are difficult to navigate on account of the

<sup>1</sup> A. d'Ar. Menorca for Otrigia.

<sup>2</sup> *Spargazetia*, A. Minor, for *Spargazetia*.



whirls by the coast of Italy meet with the current from the strait and are prevented from reaching Sicily, they form a prey to the larger sea animals, such as dolphins, dugongs and cetaceans in general, and the "galeas" which are called both sword fish and dugong grow fat from the chase of the tunny-fish. [The same thing occurs here and at the rise of the Nile and other rivers as happens when there is a conflagration or a forest fire, namely the assembled animals attempt to escape the fire or the flood and become prey of animals more powerful than themselves.]

16 After making this statement Polivius goes on to describe the hunting of the "galeas," which takes place off the Sicilian coast. One man on the look out acts for all the fishermen, who are a sort of many two men and wife to men in each of the rowing and the other standing in the bow with his spear poised in hand. And when the man on the look out notices the appearance of the "galeas" the creature shows only a third of its body out of the water) and when the boat draws near it, the man in the bow strikes the fish at close range, and then withdraws the spear shaft, leaving the spear head in the side of the fish. For the spear head is barbed and firmly attached to the spear shaft on purpose, and uses a wedge fastened to it. They pay out this line to the wounded fish until he becomes tired out by his struggles and his attempts at escape, then they tow him to the shore or take him aboard the boat, where he be of enormous size. If the spear shaft fall into the water, it is not lost for it is made of both oak and pine wood, so that



Ο 25 τοῦ δρυϊνοῦ βάρει μετέωρον εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ  
 εὐανάληπτον. συμβαίνειν δέ ποτε καὶ τιτρώσκε-  
 σθαι διὰ τοῦ σκαφιδίου τὸν κωπηλάτην διὰ τὸ  
 μέγεθος τοῦ ξίφους τῶν γαλεωτῶν καὶ τὸ τὴν  
 ἀκμὴν τοῦ ξίφους<sup>1</sup> συναγρωδῆ εἶναι καὶ δηκτηρίαν.<sup>2</sup>  
 ἔκ τε δὴ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάξοι τις ἄν, φησί, περὶ  
 Σικελίαν γενέσθαι τὴν πλάνην κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον,  
 ὅτι τῇ Σκύλλῃ προσήψε τὴν τοιαύτην θήραν, ἥ  
 μάλιστ' ἐπιχώριός ἐστι τῷ Σκυλλαίῳ· καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 περὶ τῆς Χαρύβδews λεγομένων ὁμοίων τοῖς τοῦ  
 πορθμοῦ πάθεσι. τὸ δὲ

τρίς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίησιν, (Od. 12. 105)

ἀντὶ τοῦ δις, γραφικὸν εἶναι ἁμάρτημα ἢ ἱστο-  
 ρικόν

17 Καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Μήνιγγι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν  
 Λωτοφάγων εἰρημένοις συμφωνεῖν. εἰ δέ τινα μὴ  
 συμφωνεῖ, μεταβολὰς αἰτιᾶσθαι δεῖν ἢ ἄγνοιαν ἢ  
 καὶ ποιητικὴν ἔξουσιαν, ἢ συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἱστορίας  
 καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ μυθοῦ. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἱστορίας  
 ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τέλος, ὡς ἐν Νεῶν καταλόγῳ τὰ  
 ἐκάστοις τόποις συμβεβηκότα λέγοντος τοῦ ποιη-  
 τοῦ, τὴν μὲν πατρήσσαι, τὴν δὲ ἐσχατώσαν  
 πόλιν, ἄλλην δὲ πολυτρήρωνα, τὴν δ' ἀγχιαλον  
 τῆς δὲ διαθέσεως ἐνέργειαν εἶναι τὸ τέλος, ὡς ὅταν  
 μαχομένους εἰσάγῃ· μύθου δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἐκπλη-

<sup>1</sup> ξίφους, Starratt, for ξίφον.

<sup>2</sup> δηκτηρίαν, Madvig, for τῆς θήρας; Starratt following.



ξιν. τὸ δὲ πάντα πλάττειν οὐ πιθανόν, οὐδ' Ὀμηρικόν· τὴν γὰρ ἐκείνου ποιήσ.ν φιλοσύφημα πάντας νομίζουσιν, οὐχ ὥς Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶ κελεύων μὴ κρίνειν πρὸς τὴν διανοίαν τὰ ποιήματα, μηδ' ἱστορίαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ζητεῖν. πιθανώτερον τε τὸ

ἐνθεν ὃ ἐννήμαρ φερόμεν ὁλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν

(*Od.* 9. 82)

ἐν βραχεῖ διαστήματι δέχεσθαι (οἱ γὰρ ὅλοοι οὐκ εἰσυδρομοὶ) ἢ ἐξωκεανίζειν, ὥς ἂν οὐρίων πικόντων συνεχῶς. συνθεῖς δὲ τὸ διάστημα το ἐκ Μαιλαῶν ἐπὶ Στήλας σταδίων δισμυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων, εἰ, φησι, τοῦτο θέημεν ἐν ταῖς ἐννέα ἡμέραις διγνύσθαι ἰσηταχῆς, ἐκίστηεν ἂν ἡμέρας ὃ πλοῖτε συμβαίνειν σταδίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. τίς οὖν ἱστορήκεν ἐκ Λυκίας ἢ Ῥόδου δευτεραῖόν τινα ἀφιγμένον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅντος τοῦ διαστήματος σταδίων τετρακισχιλίων, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας, πῶς τρις εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθὼν οὐδ' ἄπαξ διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ πέπλευκεν Ὀδυσσεύς, ἀπολογεῖται, διότι καὶ οἱ ὕστερον ἔφευγον ἅπαντες τὸν πλοῦν τοῦτον.

18. Τοιαῦτα μὲν εἴρηκεν. ἔστι δὲ τὰλλα μὲν  
 O 26 αὐτὸ λεγόμενα· ὅταν δ' ἀνασκευασθῇ τὸν ἐξωκεανισμόν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸς ἀκριβεῆ μέτρα τὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀνάγῃ καὶ διαστήματα, ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ἐξωκεανισμόν, the old reading, is retained for the ἐξωκεανισμόν of Kramer and Mueller; C. Mueller approving.

to excite amazement. But to invent a story out right is neither plausible nor like Homer, for everybody agrees that the poetry of Homer is a philosophical production—contrary to the opinion of Eratosthenes—who bids us not to judge the poems with reference to their thought, nor yet to seek for history in them. And Polybius says it is more plausible to interpret the poet's words "Thence for nine whole days was I borne by baneful winds" as applying to a restricted area 'for baneful winds do not maintain a straight course' than to place the incident out on Oceanus as though the phrase had been "fair winds continuously blowing." Now, if we reckon the distance from Cape Malea to the Pillars of Hercules at twenty-two thousand five hundred stadia, and if, says Polybius, we suppose that this distance was traversed at an even speed for those nine days, the distance covered each day would be two thousand five hundred stadia. But where do we find it recorded that anyone ever arrived at Alexandria from Lycia or Rhodes on the second day, though the distance is only four thousand stadia? And to those who ask the further question how it came about, if Odysseus touched Sicily three times, that he never once sailed through the Strait, Polybius replies that it was for the same reason that all later navigators have avoided that passage.

18 Such are the words of Polybius, and what he says is in the main correct. But when he demonstrates the argument that places the wanderings of Odysseus on Oceanus, and when he reduces the nine days' voyage and the distances covered thereon to exact measurements, he reaches the height of

ἀπολείπει τῆς ἰνομολογίας. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ παρα-  
τίθῃσι τὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπη·

ἔνθεν δ' ἐννῆμαρ φερόμην ὁλοαῖς ἀνέμοισιν,  
(Οδ. 9. 82)

ἅμα δ' ἐπικρύπτεται· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τοῦ ποιητοῦ,  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὀκεανοῖο  
νῆϋς,  
(Οδ. 12. 1)

καὶ τὸ

νήσῳ ἐν Ὠγυγίῃ, ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλὸς ἔστι θαλάσ-  
σης·  
(Οδ. 1. 50)

καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖ Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ· καὶ τὸ  
περὶ τῶν Φαιάκων,

οἰκέσμεν δ' ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
ἔσχατοι οὐδὲ τις ἄμμι βροτῶν ἐπιμνησθῆται  
ἄλλος.  
(Οδ. 6. 204)

ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα φανερώς ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ  
πελάγει πλαττομένα δηλοῦται.<sup>1</sup> ο δὲ ταῦτ'  
ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὰ φανερώς λεγόμενα ἀναιρεῖ·  
τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ εὖ· τὸ δὲ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ  
Ἰταλίαν γεγενῆσθαι τὴν πλίνην ὀρθῶς, καὶ ὑπὸ  
τῶν τοπικῶν τὰ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ ποιητοῦ βεβαιοῦται. ἐπεὶ  
τίς ἔπεισε ποιητὴς ἢ συγγραφεὺς Νεαπολίτας μὲν  
λέγειν μνῆμα Παρθενῶπης τῆς Σειρήνος, τοὺς δὲ  
ἐν Κύμῳ καὶ Δικαιαρχείᾳ<sup>3</sup> καὶ Οὐδεσούνῳ Πυρρῷ  
φλεγέθοντα καὶ Ἀχερουσίαν λίμνην καὶ νεκρο-  
μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀόρνῳ καὶ Βαίῳ καὶ Μισσηνὸν  
τῶν Ὀδυσσεύος ἐταίρων τινας; οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> δηλοῦται, Heineke, for δηλοῦνται.

inconsistency. For at one moment he quotes the words of the poet "Thence for nine whole days was I borne by baneful winds", and at another moment he suppresses statements. For Homer says also "Now after the ship had left the river stream of Oceanus"; and "In the island of Ogigia, where is the navel of the sea," going on to say that the daughter of Atlas lives there, and again, regarding the Phaeacians, "Far apart we live in the wash of the waves, the farthestmost of men, and no other mortals are conversant with us." Now all these incidents are clearly indicated as being placed in fancy in the Atlantic Ocean, but Polybius by suppressing them destroys what the poet states in express terms. In so doing he is wrong, but he is right in placing the wanderings in the neighbourhood of Sicily and Italy, and the words of the poet are confirmed by the geographical terms of those regions. For what poet or prose writer ever persuaded the Neapolitans to name a monument after Parthenope the Siren, or the people of Cumæ, of *Dicaearchus*,<sup>1</sup> and of Vesuvius, to perpetuate the names of Pyriphlegethon, of the Acherusian Marsh, of the oracle of the dead at Lake Avernus, and of Baucis and Misenus, two of the companions of Odysseus? The same question may be asked regarding Homer's stories of the

<sup>1</sup> *Potodil*.

<sup>2</sup> *τὸν νεώτερον* ed. C. Müller inserts.

<sup>3</sup> *Δικαρχίου*, *Μεσσηνίου*, for *Δικαρχίου*.

περὶ Σειρηνούσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ  
Σκύλλαν καὶ Χάρυβδιν καὶ Αἰόλον· ἅπερ οὗτ'  
ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν δεῖ οὗτ' ἄρριζα καὶ ἀνέστια  
εἶναι, ἀληθείας μὴδὲν προσαπτόμενα μὴδ' ὠφελείας  
ἱστορικῆς.

19. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπονοήσας τοῦτο ὁ Ἑρατο-  
σθένης, ὑπολάβοι τις ἂν, φησὶ, τὸν ποιητὴν  
βούλεσθαι μὲν ἐν τοῖς προσεσπερίοις τόποις τὴν  
πλάνην τῇ Ὀδύσσει ποιεῖν, ἀποστῆναι δ' ἀπὸ  
τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς πεπυσμένον,  
τὰ δὲ οὐδὲ προσέλαμνον οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ δεινό-  
τερον καὶ τὸ τερατωδέστερον ἕκαστα ἐξύγειν.  
τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ εὖ, τὸ δ' οὐ χάριν τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖ  
κακῶς δεξάμενος· οὐ γὰρ φλυαρίας, ἀλλ' ὠφελείας  
χάριν. ὥστε δίκαιός ἐστιν ὑπέχειν λόγον καὶ  
περὶ τούτου καὶ διότι φησὶ τὰ πορρω τερατολο-  
γεῖσθαι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ εὐκατάψευστον. πολλο-  
στὸν γὰρ μέρος ἐστὶ τὰ πορρω τερατολογούμενα  
τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐγγύς τῆς Ἑλλάδος· οἷα  
δὴ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἄθλους καὶ Θησέως  
καὶ τὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ Σικελίᾳ μυθεύόμενα καὶ ταῖς  
ἑλλαις νήσοις, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ  
Ἑλικῶνα καὶ Παρνασσὸν καὶ Πήλιον καὶ τὴν  
Ο 27 Ἀττικὴν ὅλην καὶ Πελοπόννησον· οὐδεὶς τε ἐκ  
τῶν μύθων ἄγνοιαν αἰτιάται τῶν μυθοποιῶν. ἔτι  
δέ, ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντα μυθεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ πλείω προσ-  
μυθεύουσι, καὶ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος, ὁ ζητῶν τί αἱ  
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throughout the Great Gales Theatre and several  
stages which we plan to have installed in 1967.  
We are not making any investment and as a result we are willing  
having no claim to truthfulness or to study or  
history

[illegible]



παλαιοὶ προσμυθεύουσιν οὐ ζητεῖ, εἰ τὰ προσμυθεύόμενα ὑπῆρξεν ἢ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον οἷς προσμυθεύεται τόποις ἢ προσώποις, περὶ ἐκείνων ζητεῖ τὰληθές· οἷαν τὴν Ὀδυσσεὺς πλάην, εἰ γέγοκε, καὶ ποῦ.

20. Το δ' ὅλον οὐκ εὖ τὸ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν εἰς ἓν συνάγειν τῇ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖον ἀπονέμειν· εἰς τε τᾶλλα καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ νῦν προκειμένα, τὰ τῆς γεωγραφίας καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὸν γε Τριπτολεμον τὸν Σοφοκλεους ἢ τὸν ἐν ταῖς Βάκχαις ταῖς Εὐριπίδου πρόλογον ἐπελθόντα καὶ παραβαλόντα τὴν Ὀμηρου περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιμέλειαν, ῥηδίων ἢ αἰσθέσθαι τὴν ἐπιπολαίαν τὴνδε διαφορὰν.<sup>1</sup> ὅπου γὰρ χρεια τυξέως ὥς μέμνηται τοπων, φυλάττει τὴν τυξιν Ὀμηρος<sup>2</sup> ὁμοίως μὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ τῶν ἁπῶθεν

Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμαν, αὐτὰρ  
ἐπ' Ὀσση  
Πήλιον εἰσοσίφυλλον. (Od. 11. 315)

Ἦρῃ δ' ἀξάσσα λίπεν ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο,  
Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβίασα καὶ Ἠμαθίην ἐρατεινὴν  
σευατ' ἐφ' ἱπποπολῶν Θρηκῶν δρεα νιφύοντα·  
ἐξ Ἀθόω δ' ἐπὶ ποντον. (Il. 14. 225)

καὶ ἐν τῷ Καταλόγῳ τὰς μὲν πόλεις οὐκ ἐφεξῆς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖον ἀπονέμειν, A. Miller transposes to this place from a position after γεωγραφίας.

<sup>2</sup> ῥηδίων ἢ αἰσθέσθαι τὴν ἐπιπολαίαν τὴνδε διαφορὰν, A. Miller, for ῥηδίων εἶναι θεοῦ τὴν ἐνβολὴν ἢ τὴν διαφορὰν, A. Vogel approving, but suggesting the omission of τήνδε.

<sup>3</sup> Ὀμηρος, A. Miller inserts.

mythical additions the ancients make does not seek to discover whether the additions were once true or are true to-day, but rather seeks to discover the truth in regard to the places to which, or the persons to whom, these mythical elements are added, for instance, in regard to the wanderings of Odysseus, whether they took place and, if so, where.

20. Generally speaking, it is wrong to place the poetry of Homer on the same level with that of other poets, and to decline to rank him above them in any respect, and particularly in the subject that now occupies our attention, namely, geography. For if you did no more than go over the *Triptolemus* of Sophocles or the prologue to the *Hæcchæ* of Euripides, and then compare Homer's care with respect to geographical matters, it would be easy for you to perceive this difference, which lies on the surface. Indeed, wherever there is need of an orderly sequence in the places he mentions, Homer is careful to preserve that order, not only in regard to places in Greece, but equally in regard to those beyond the limits of Greece. "They strove to pile Ossa on Olympus, and on Ossa Pionon with the trembling forest leaves", "And Hera, rushing down left the peak of Olympus, and touched on Pieris and pleasant Emathia, and sped over the snowy hills of the Thracian horsemen, and she went from Athos across the sea." In the Catalogue of Ships he does not, indeed, mention the cities in their order, for that was not necessary,

λέγει· οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον· τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ἐφεξῆς.  
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπῳθεν·

Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἴγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς  
Λιβυιστὰς θ' ἰκόμεν καὶ Σιδοκούς καὶ Ἑρεμβοὺς  
καὶ Λιβυην. (Od. 4 83)

Ἐπερ καὶ Ἱππάρχος ἐπισημαίνεται. οἱ δ', ἐφ'  
ὧν τάξεως χρεῖα, ὁ μὲν τὸν Διονυσον ἐπιόντα τὰ  
ἔθνη φραζων, ὁ δὲ τὸν Τριπτόλεμον τὴν κατα-  
σπειρομένην γῆν, τὰ μὲν πολὺν διεστῶτα συν-  
άπτουσιν ἐγγύς, τὰ δὲ συνεχῇ διασπῶσι

Λιβῶν δὲ Ἀνδῶν τὰς πολυχρύσους γῆας  
Φρυγῶν τε Περσῶν θ' ἡλιοβλητοὺς πλείους  
Βακτριὰν τε ταίχην, τὴν τε δυσχείμον χθονα  
Μηδῶν ἐπελθῶν Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαίμονα.

(Eur. Hecch. 13)

τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ποιεῖ. κὰν τοῖς  
κλίμασι δὲ κὰν τοῖς ἀνέμοις διαφαίνει τὸ πολυ-  
μαθὲς τὸ περὶ τὴν γεωγραφίαν Ὅμηρος, ἐν ταῖς  
τοποθεσίαις λέγων ἄμα καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχού.

C 28 αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτῃ εἰν ἂν κείται  
πρὸς ζόφον· αἱ δὲ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἥλιον τε  
(Od. 9. 26)

δυὼ δὲ τέ οἱ θύραι εἰσίν,

αἱ μὲν πρὸς Ὁριαν,  
αἱ δ' αὖ πρὸς Νότον. (Od. 13. 109)

εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξιῇ ἴωσι πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἥλιόν τε,  
εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ τοῖ γε ποτὶ ζόφον. (Id. 12. 239)

<sup>1</sup> Strabo does not mean to attribute to Homer a knowledge of "climate" in the technical sense as employed by Hipparchus (see footnote 2, page 22), but merely a knowledge of



καὶ μὴν τὴν Ἀγνοϊάν γε τῶν τοιούτων τελειαν  
ἡγεῖται σύγχυσιν τῶν ἀπάντων·

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν, ὅπη ζόφος, οὐδ' ὅπη  
ἡώς,  
οὐδ' ὅπη ἥελις. (Od. 10. 190)

κῦσταῦθα δ' εἰπόντος εὖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,

Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον,  
(Il. 9. 5)

οὐκ εὖ δεξάμενος ὁ αὐτὸς συκοφαντεῖ, ὡς καθόλου  
λαγόντος, ὅτι ὁ Ζέφυρος ἐκ Θρήκης πνεῖ, ἐκείνου  
λέγοντος οὐ καθόλου, ἀλλ' ὅταν κατὰ τὴν Θρα-  
κίαν θάλασσαν συμπέσωσι περὶ τὸν Μέλανα  
κολπον αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λιγαίου μέρος οὖσαν. ἐπι-  
στροφὴν γὰρ λαμβάνει πρὸς νότον ακρωτηριά-  
ζουσα ἡ Θράκη, καθ' ἣ συνάπτει τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ,  
καὶ προπιπτουσα εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τοὺς Ζεφυροὺς  
ἐντεῦθεν πνέοντας ἀποφαίνει τοῖς ἐν Θίῳ καὶ  
Ἀήμῳ καὶ Ἰμβρῳ καὶ Σαρμοθρίᾳ καὶ τῇ περὶ  
αὐτὰς θαλάττῃ, καθάπερ καὶ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀπὸ  
τῶν Σκεραιωδῶν πετρῶν, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ Σκείρωνες  
καλοῦνται οἱ Ζεφυροί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Ἀργεῖται.  
οὐκ ἐνόησε δὲ τοῦτο Ἑρατοσθένης, ὑπενόησε δ'  
ὁμῶς. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐξηγεῖται τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν, ἣν  
λέγω, τῆς χώρας ὡς καθόλου οὖν δέχεται, εἴτ'  
ἀπειρίαν αἰτιᾶται τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὡς τοῦ Ζεφύρου  
μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας πνέοντος καὶ τῆς Ἰθνηρίας  
τῆς δὲ Θράκης ἐκείσε μὴ διατεινούσης. ποτερον  
οὖν τὸν Ζέφυρον ἀγνοεῖ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας πνέοντα;

regards ignorance of these matters as tantamount to utter confusion in all particulars. "My friends, lo, we know not where is the place of darkness or of dawning nor where the sun." In all such a passage Homer is accurate when he speaks of "the north wind and the west wind that blow from Thracæ" but Eratosthenes puts a false interpretation upon these words and fairly accuses the poet as though he were making the universal statement that the west wind blows from Thracæ, whereas Homer is not speaking in a universal sense, but refers to the time when these two winds meet in the Gulf of Mæas upon the Thracian Sea, which is a part of the Aegean itself. For Thracæ penning out into a promontory at the point where Thracæ borders on Macedonia takes a turn towards the south and then projecting into the sea gives the impression to the people of Thracæ, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothracæ and on the sea that lies round about those islands that the west winds actually blow from Thracæ, whereas as for Attica they seem to come from the Ægean Sea and it is from these that the west winds, and particularly the north west winds get their name "Zephyrus." But Eratosthenes did not perceive this, though he suspected it, at any rate he himself deems on the turn of the coast which he has mentioned. In any case he interprets Homer's verse as a universal statement and then charges the poet with ignorance, on the ground that while the west wind blows from the west and from Thracæ, Thracæ does not extend so far west. Now is Homer really unaware that the west wind blows from the west? But Homer

<sup>1</sup> Gulf of Saron.

ἀλλ' ὅταν αὖτε φθ. φυλάττει τὴν αἰκίαν αὐτοῦ  
ταξίν·

σὺν δ' Εὐρώς τε Νότος τε πέσας Ζέφυρός τε  
δυσαῆς  
καὶ Βορέης· (Od. 5 295)

ἢ τὴν Θράκην οὐκ οἶδε μὴ προκίπτουσαν πέρα  
τῶν Παιονικῶν καὶ Θασσалиκῶν ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ταυτὴν τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Θράκας καὶ τὴν ἑφεξῆς<sup>1</sup>  
εἰδὼς καὶ εὐ<sup>2</sup> κατονομαζὼν τὴν τε παραλίαν καὶ  
τὴν μεσογαίαν Μαγνητὰς μὲν τινας καὶ Μαλιεῖς  
καὶ τοὺς ἑφεξῆς Ἕλληνας καταλέγει μέχρι Θισ-  
πρατῶν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Παιοσι τοὺς ὁμό-  
ρους Δολοπας καὶ Σελλοὺς περὶ Δωδωνὴν μέχρι  
Ἀχελαιοῦ, Ἑρακλῶν δ' οὐ μνησθῆναι περαιτέρω.  
εἰσπιφυρεῖς δὲ ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἑγγυιότητα καὶ γνω-  
ριμωτάτην ἑαυτῇ θάλατταν, ὥς καὶ ὅταν φθ·

C 29 κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ ὥς κυματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης  
ποτανοῦ Ἰκαριοιο. (Il. 2. 144)

21 Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες, οἱ φασιν εἶναι δύο τοὺς  
κυρωτάτους ἀνέμους, Βορέαν καὶ Νότον, τοὺς  
δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ μικρὰν ἑγκλισιν διαφέρειν· τον  
μὲν ἀπο θερμῶν ἀνατολῶν Εὐρον, χειμερινῶν  
δὲ Ἀπηνλιώτην· δυσεῖα δὲ θερμῶν μὲν Ζέφυρον,  
χειμερινῶν δὲ Ἀργεστην. τοῦ δὲ δυο εἶναι τοὺς  
ἀνέμους ποιοῦνται μαρτυρας Ἀρασσαλῆς τε καὶ  
τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν τῷ τον μὲν Ἀργεστην τῷ Νοτῷ  
προσνέμειν·

ἀργεστῆος Νότοις, (Il. 11 306)

<sup>1</sup> αἶμα, Cobet, for αἶμα

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τοὺς ἑφεξῆς καὶ τὴν ἐφεξῆς, A. Miller for ἐφεξῆς κατὰ  
τοὺς ἑφεξῆς. <sup>3</sup> οἶ, T. Q. Tucker, for αἶ.

keeps it in its own proper place when he says: "The east wind and the south wind clashed, and the stormy west and the north." Or is he unaware that Thrace does not extend westward beyond the mountains of Paeonia and Thessaly? But he knows and correctly names the Thracian country as well as the country contiguous to it, both the sea-coast and the interior, and while he lists Magnesians, Maianae, and the Hellenes next after them as far as the Thesprotians, and likewise the Dolopians and Selians about Dodona, next neighbours to the Paeonians, as far as Achelous, yet he mentions no Thracians further west. And besides, Homer has a special fondness for the sea that lies nearest his home and is best-known to him, as is shown when he says "And the assembly swayed like high waves of the Icarian deep."

21 There are some writers who say that there are only two principal winds, Borcas and Notus, and that the rest of the winds differ from these only by a slight variation of direction. Eurus blowing from the direction of summer sunrise,<sup>1</sup> Apeliotes from the direction of winter sunrise,<sup>2</sup> Zephyrus from the direction of summer sunset,<sup>3</sup> Argestes from the direction of winter sunset.<sup>4</sup> And to prove that there are only two winds they adduce the testimony of Thrasyacles<sup>5</sup> and of Homer himself, on the ground that Homer assigns Argestes to Notus in the phrase "of Argestes Notus, and Zephyrus to

<sup>1</sup> North-east.<sup>2</sup> South-east.<sup>3</sup> North-west.<sup>4</sup> South-west.<sup>5</sup> See 17. 1 &



τὸν δὲ Ζέφυρον τῷ Βορέᾳ

Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε ὀνόματι ἄντηται.

(II. 9. 5)

φησὶ δὲ Ποσειδάκιος, μηδένα οὕτως παραδεδωκεῖν τοὺς πνέμους τῶν γνωρίμων περὶ ταῦτα, οἷον Ἀριστοτέλην, Γεωμετρίην, Λύκωνα τὸν ἀστρολόγον ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ θερινοῦ ἀνατολῶν Καικίαν, τὸν δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ διὰμετρον ἐναντίον Λιβᾶ, ἀπὲ δύσεως ὄντα χειμερινῇ· πάλιν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ χειμερινῆς ἀνατολῆς Εὐρώην, τὸν δ' ἐναντίον Ἀργεστήν· τοὺς δὲ μέσους Ἀπηνιῶτην καὶ Ζέφυρον. τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν δυσασὴ μὲν Ζέφυρον λέγειν τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν καλουμένον Ἀργεστήν, λιγὰ δὲ πνέοντα Ζέφυρον τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν Ζέφυρον, ἀργεστήν δὲ Νότον τὸν Λευκόντοτον· οὗτοι γὰρ ὀλίγα τὰ νέφη παρὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ Νότου ὀλερού<sup>1</sup> πως ὄντες·

ὥς ὅποτε Ζέφυρος νέφη συσφιλίξῃ  
ἀργεστᾶο Νότοιο, βαθεῖη λαίλαπι τύπτων.

(II. 11. 305)

τὸν γὰρ δυσασὴ Ζέφυρον νῦν λέγει, δε εἰώθε διασκιδνῶναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λευκόντου συναγομένα ἀσθενῇ ὄντα, ἐπιθέτωι τοῦ Νότου νῦν ἀργεστῶι λεγομένου ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν γεωγραφικῶν εἰρημένα τοιαυτὴν τινὰ τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἔχει.

22 Ἐπιμέρων δὲ τοῖς περὶ Ὀμήρου ψευδῶς ὑποληφθεῖσι καὶ ταῦτά φησιν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ τοῦ Νείλων στόματα οἶδε κλείειν ὄντα οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦνομα, Ἡσιώδης δὲ οἶδε μέμνηται γὰρ. τὸ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> ὀλερού, Kramer suggests, for ὀλερού, but does not insert. Meineke inserts, C. Müller, A. Vogel approving.



οὐν ὄνομα εἰκὸς μήπω λέγεσθαι κατ' αὐτόν· τὰ δὲ  
στόματα εἰ μὲν ἦν ἄφανῇ καὶ ὀλίγοις γινώριμα,  
ὅτι πλείω καὶ οὐχ ἕν, δοίη τις ἂν μὴ πεπύσθαι  
αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸ γνωριμώτατον  
καὶ παραδοξότατον καὶ μάλιστα πάντων μνήμης  
ἄξιον καὶ ἱστορίας ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν,  
ὥς δ' αὐτὸς αἰ ἀναβιάσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ στόματα,  
τίς ἂν ἢ τοὺς ἀγγέλλοντας αὐτῷ ποταμον Αἴγυ-  
C 30 πτον καὶ χώραν καὶ θήβας Αἴγυπτίας καὶ Φάρον  
ὑπολάβοι μὴ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα, ἢ γνωρίζοντας μὴ  
λέγειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ γινώριμον, ὅτι δ'  
ὑπιθανώτερον, εἰ τὴν μὲν Αἰθιοπίαν ἔλεγε καὶ  
Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβοὺς καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν  
καὶ τὸ διχθὰ δεδασθαι τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς  
καὶ γινώριμα μὴ ᾔδει.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐμνήσθη τούτων,  
οὐ τοῦτο σημεῖον τοῦ ἠγνοεῖν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
πατρίδος ἐμνήσθη οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἄλλων) ἀλλὰ  
μᾶλλον τὰ λίαν γινώριμα ὅντα φαίη τις ἂν δοῦναι  
μὴ<sup>2</sup> ἄξια μνήμης εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς εἰδύτας.

23. Οὐκ εὖ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο προφέρουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ  
περὶ τῆς νησου τῆς Φαρίας, ὅτι φησὶ πελαγίαν,  
ὥς κατ' ἄγνοίαν λέγουσι· τοῦναντίον γὰρ καὶ  
μαρτυρίῳ χρῆσαι· τίς τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἄγνο-  
εῖσθαι μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν εἰρημένων

<sup>1</sup> ᾔδει, Jones inserts.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ λίαν γινώριμα ὅντα φαίη τις ἂν εἶναι μὴ, Meineke, for  
τοῦ λίαν ἢ γινώριμα ὅντα φαίη εἶναι.

name, it is wholly that in Homer's time it was not yet in use, but as to the mistake if the fact that there were several and not one only was suggested or known to any, a few words might gain the Homer had not heard of it. But if the river was then as it still is the best known and most marvellous thing in Egypt and decidedly the most worthy of mention and of historical record and the same applied to its foundations and its waters—who could ever suppose that these were brought to Homer by some of the River "Angustia" and the country "Angustia" and Egyptus, Libyes and Pharae did not know about these mouths, or that if they knew did not tell about them—except for the reason that they were already well known. But it is more ~~therefore~~ strange that he mentioned Libyes, Subarum, Phenicians, the sea beyond, and the fact that he did speak of "Angustia" in two places and yet did not know what was near at hand and well known. The fact that he did not mention them is no sign that he did not know about them—he does not mention his own native country either nor many other things—but rather would one say that it was thought the best known facts were not worth mentioning to those who already knew them.

23. Equally unjust is the reproach they cast upon Homer in the matter of the island of Pharia, because he says that it is in the open sea—as though he said this in ignorance. On the contrary one is gladder that statement as making witness to the fact that not one of the things which we have just been talking about regarding Egypt was an

<sup>1</sup> The Atlantic Ocean.

ἀρτίως περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. γνοίης δ' ἂν οὕτως· ἀλαζών δὴ πᾶς ὁ πλάνην αὐτοῦ διηγοίμενος· τούτων δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος, δε ἀναβεβηκώς μέχρις Αἰθιοπῶν ἐπέπυστο τὰς ἀναβύσεις τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τὴν χοῦν, ὅσην ἐπιφέρει τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῶν στομάτων πόρον, ὅσον ἤδη προσχώσας τῇ ἡπειρῷ προστέθεικεν, ὥστε εἰκότως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡροδότου καὶ τὴν ὅλην Αἴγυπτον τοῦ ποταμοῦ δῶρον λέγεσθαι· κἂν εἰ μὴ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ὅλην τὴν γε ὑπὸ τῷ Δέλτᾳ, τὴν κατω χωρὰν προσαγορευομένην. ἰστόρησε δὲ καὶ τὴν Φάρον πελαγίαν οὔσαν τὸ παλαιόν· προσεψεύσατο δὲ καὶ τὸ πελαγίαν εἶναι, καίπερ μηκέτι πελαγίαν οὔσαν, ὁ δὲ ταῦτα διασκευάζων ο ποιητὴς ἦν· ὥστ' ἐκ τούτων εἰκάζειν, ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἀναβύσεις ᾗδαι καὶ τὰ στόματα τοῦ Νείλου.

24. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ ἁμαρτία καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πελάγους καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ψευδῶς λέγεσθαι

Αἰθιοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν  
(*Od.* 1. 28)

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκείνου λέγοντος καλῶς, ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ ὕστερον οὐκ εἶ. τοσούτου γὰρ δεῖ τοῦτ' ἀληθὲς εἶναι, τὸ ἀγνοεῖν Ὅμηρον τὸν ἰσθμὸν τοῦτον, ὥστε ἐκείνον μὲν φημι μὴ εἰδέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαφαίνεσθαι ἄντικρυς, τοὺς δὲ γραμματικούς μηδὲ

<sup>1</sup> τε, Corais deletis, after μή, Meineke following; G. Müller, A. Müller, approving.

known to the poet. You might even see yourself of it in the following way. I say, by the way, the story of the Nile as it is a fragment to the class brought. Moreover, the said account of the Nile as far as it is a fragment about the mouth of the Nile and the question of its course which the river departs upon the main and about the large extent of territory off to the north which the river and its branches add to the continent by being so much. The Nile was quite right in saying that the name of the Nile was that the River Nile, and even if this is not true of the name of Egypt it certainly is true of the part embraced by the Nile which is called Lower Egypt, and moreover was said that the island of Phoenicia had been so he opened a new world to the imagination that it was not in the pen sea, it was no longer in the pen sea. However, was the poet who composed the story and therefore from it we may conjecture that Homer knew about the topography of the Nile and about its mouth as well.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Word 2.6.

λέγοντες ἐκείνου αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀπὸ Ἀριστάρχου  
ἀρξαμένους<sup>1</sup> καὶ Κράτητος τῶν κορυφαίων ἐν τῇ  
ἐπιστήμῃ ταυτῇ. εἰπόντος γὰρ τοῦ ποιητοῦ

Λιβιοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεται ἰσχατοὶ ἀνδρῶν,  
(Od. 1. 23)

περὶ τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου ἔποντ διαφέρονται, ὁ μὲν  
Ἀρίσταρχος γράφων,

οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, αἱ δ' ἀνιόντος,  
(Od. 1. 24)

ὁ δὲ Κράτης,

ἡμὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, ἡδ' ἀνιόντος,  
(Od. 1. 24)

- Ο 31 οὐδὲν διαφέρον πρὸς τὴν ἑκατέρου ὑπόθεσιν  
οὕτως ἢ ἐκτενέως γραφεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ἀκολουθῶν  
τοῖς μαθηματικῶς λεγεσθαι δοκοῦσι, τὴν διακε-  
καιμένην ζώνην κατέχεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠκεα-  
νοῦ· παρ' ἑκαστερον δὲ ταύτης εἶναι τὴν εὐκρατον,  
τὴν τε καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θυτερον μέρος.  
ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν Λιβιοπας οὗτοι λέγονται  
οἱ πρὸς μεσημβριαν κεκλιμένοι παρ' Ἰλιν τὴν  
οἰκουμένην ἰσχατοὶ τῶν ἄλλων παροικούντες τὸν  
ὠκεανόν, οὕτως οἶεται δεῖν καὶ πέραν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ  
νοεῖσθαι τινὰς Λιβιοπας ἰσχατοὺς τῶν ἄλλων  
τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρα εὐκράτῃ, παροικούντας τὸν αὐτὸν  
τοῦτον ὠκεανόν· διττοὺς δὲ εἶναι καὶ διχθὰ δε-  
δάσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ. προσκεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ

ἡμὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, ἡδ' ἀνιόντος,  
(Od. 1. 24)

ὅτι τοῦ Ζωδιακοῦ κατὰ κορυφὴν ὄντος αἰὲ τῷ ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἀρξαμένους, H. Kallenberg inserts, after Ἀριστάρχου. It is  
inserted in the margin of q "secunda manu" after Κράτητος.

Aristarchus and Crates the leading lights in the science of astronomy even though Homer speaks of it do not perceive that he does. The poet says "the Ethiopians that are bordered in upon the farthest crest of west." About the east Crates says a difference of opinion among Aristarchus writing "nothing more where the earth is and where were he rises." Crates "nothing less where Hyperion sets and where he rises." Yet as far as the question at issue is concerned it makes no difference whether you write the term one way or the other. Crates following the mere form of astronomical demonstration says that the torrid zone is "uninhabited" by the earth and that on both sides of this zone are the temperate zones, the one lying on the one side while the other is on the other side of it. Now just as these Ethiopians on our side of Oceanus who face the west throughout the whole length of the inhabited world are not the most remote of the two groups of peoples since they dwell on the shores of Oceanus so that they must conceive that on the other side of this zone also there are certain Ethiopians who must remote of the other group of peoples in the temperate zone since they dwell on the shores of the same Oceanus and that they are in two groups and are "bordered in twain" by Oceanus. Homer adds the words, "dwelling with where Hyperion sets and where he rises" because inasmuch as the celestial equator always lies in the same plane the corresponding

\* For the purpose of demonstration Crates identified the limits of the torrid zone with the torrid zone, as some say, which was not exactly true.



τῇ γῇ Ζωδιακῷ, τούτου δ' οὐκ ἐκβαίνοντος ἔξω  
 τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν ἀμφοῖν τῇ λοξώσει, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν  
 πάροδον τοῦ ἡλίου πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ πλάτει τούτῳ  
 νοεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς καὶ τὰς δύσεις συμ-  
 βαίνειν ἐνταῦθα ἄλλας ἄλλοις καὶ κατ' ἄλλα ἢ  
 ἄλλα σημεῖα. εἶρηκε μὲν οὕτως, ἀστρονομικώ-  
 τερον νομίσας· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀπλούστερον εἰπεῖν  
 αὐτὸ σώζοντα τὸ οὕτω διηρησθαι δίχα τοὺς  
 Αἰθιοπας, ὥς εἶρηται· ὅτι ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος  
 μέχρι δύσεως ἐφ' ἑκάτερα παρήκουσι· τῷ ὠκεανῷ  
 Αἰθιοπες. τί οὖν διαφέρει πρὸς τὸν νοῦν τοῦτον  
 ἢ οὕτως εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς γράφει, ἢ ὡς Ἀρί-  
 σταρχος,

οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος;  
 (Οἶ. 1. 24)

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς δύσιν καὶ πρὸς  
 ἀνατολήν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ οἰκεῖν. ὁ δ'  
 Ἀρίσταρχος ταύτην μὲν ἐκβάλλει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν,  
 δίχα δὲ μεμερισμένους οἶεται λέγεσθαι τοὺς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς Αἰθιοπας, τοὺς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πρὸς μεσημ-  
 βρίαν ἐσχάτους. τούτους δὲ μὴ μεμερίσθαι δίχα,  
 ὥστε εἶναι δύο Αἰθιοπίας, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολήν,  
 τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν· ἀλλὰ μίαν μόνην, τὴν πρὸς  
 μεσημβρίαν κειμένην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἰδρυμένην  
 δὲ κατ' Αἴγυπτον. τοῦτο δὲ ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν ποιη-  
 τήν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶρηκεν Ἀπολλό-

<sup>1</sup> παρήκουσι, the reading of ACh<sup>1</sup> MSS., Madvig apparently  
 prefers το παρσικουσι.



δαυρος ἐν τῇ περὶ Νεῶν καταλόγου δευτέρῳ, καταψευσασθαι τῶν τόπων τὰ μὴ ὄντα.

26. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν Κράτητα μακροῦ λόγου δεῖ, καὶ ἴσως οὐδὲν ὄντος πρὸς τὰ νῦν. Ἀριστάρχου δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπαινοῦμεν,<sup>1</sup> διότι τὴν Κρατήτειον ἀφελὺς ὑπόθεσιν, δεχομένην πολλὰς ἐνστάσεις, περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Αἰθιοπίας ὑπονοεῖ γεγονέναι τὸν λόγον· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπισκοπῶμεν. καὶ πρῶτον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς μικρολογεῖται μίτην περὶ τῆς γραφῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὅποτεως<sup>2</sup> γράφηται, δύναται ἐφαρμόττειν τοῖς νοήμασιν αὐτοῦ. τί γὰρ διαφέρει λέγειν ἢ οὕτως, "δυο εἰσὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Αἰθιοπεῖς, οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολίας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς δύσεις," ἢ οὕτως, "καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς δύσεις", ἔπειθ' ὅτι ψευδοὺς προτίσεται δόγματος. φέρε γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν ἀγνοεῖν μὲν τὸν ἰσθμόν, τῆς δὲ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπίας μνησθαι, ὅταν φῇ·

Αἰθιοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται (Od. 1. 23)

πῶς οὖν, οὐ διχθὰ δεδαίαται οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγνοῶν οὕτως εἴρηκεν ὁ ποιητής, πότερ' οὐδ' ἡ Αἴγυπτος, οὐδ' οἱ Αἰγυπτῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι πρὸς Συνηνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεῖλου δίχα διηρῆνται,

οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος ; (Od. I. 24)

τί δ' ἄλλο ἢ Αἴγυπτός ἐστι πλὴν ἢ<sup>3</sup> ποταμίας,<sup>4</sup> ἣν ἐπικλύζει τὸ ὕδωρ, αὕτη δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπαινοῦμεν Cobet, for ἐπαινοῦμεν.

<sup>2</sup> ὅποτεως, Corais, for ὅτε ἴσως ; C. Müller approving.

<sup>3</sup> πλὴν ἢ, Corais, for πλὴν ἢ ; Graskurd, Forbiger following.



ποταμοῦ κεῖται πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ Αἰθιοπία ἐκ' εὐθείας ἐστὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ παραπλησίως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φύσιν τῶν τόπων. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη στενὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ μακρὰ καὶ ἐπικλυστος. τὰ δ' ἔξω τῆς ἐπικλύστου ἔρημά τε καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ σπανίως οἰκεῖσθαι δυνάμενα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἑω, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν κεκλιμένα. πῶς οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ δίχα διήρηται; ἢ τοῖς μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης διαιροῦσιν ἀξιόλογον τοῦθ' ὄριον ἐφάνη ὁ Νεῖλος. μῆκος μὲν ἀνατείνων ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν πλειονῶν ἢ μυρίων σταδίων, πλάτος δέ, ὥστε καὶ νήσους ἀπολαμβάνειν μυριάδους, ὧν μεγίστη ἡ Μερὴ, τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ μητρόπολις τῶν Αἰθιόπων· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦν διαιρεῖν δίχα, καὶ μὴν οἳ γε ἐπιτιμῶντες τοῖς τὰς ἡπείρους τῷ ποταμῷ διαιροῦσι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοῦτο μέγιστον προφέρουσιν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν διασπῶσι καὶ ποιοῦσι το μὲν τι μέρος ἑκατέρας αὐτῶν Λιβυκόν, τὸ δ' Ἀσιατικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ βούλονται τοῦτο ἢ οὐ διαιροῦσι τὰς ἡπείρους, ἢ οὐ τῷ ποταμῷ.

26. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως διαιρεῖν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν. πάντες γὰρ οἱ παραπλεύσαντες τῷ ὠκεανῷ τὴν Λιβύην, οἳ τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρωθρᾶς καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Σητηδῶν, μέχρι ποσοῦ προσελθόντες

[illegible]

4. But I imagine that he is dead in the meantime, and you can keep him there as long as you want, making things as comfortable as the climate of Cuba would have started him. But I have no fear of the power of economic and social forces, after they had achieved a certain distance towards

εἶτα ἀνέστρεψαν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀποριῶν κωλυό-  
μενοι, ὥστε καὶ πίστιν κατέλιπον τοῖς πολλοῖς,  
ὥς τὸ μεταξὺ διείργετο ἰσθμῷ<sup>1</sup> καὶ μὴν σύρρους  
ἢ πᾶσα Ἀτλαντικὴ θάλασσα, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ  
κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἅπαντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰ τελευταῖα  
C 33 χωρία, ἐφ' ἃ πλεοντες ἦλθον. Αἰθιοπικὰ προση-  
γορευσαν καὶ ἀπὴγγειλαν οὕτως τί οὖν ἄλογον,  
εἰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ τοιαύτης ἀκοῆς ἀχθεῖς δίχα  
διηραι, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν λέγων, τοὺς δὲ  
πρὸς δύσιν, τῶν μεταξὺ οὐ γνωσσομένων, εἴτε  
εἰσὶν εἴτε μὴ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ  
ἱστορίαν εἴρηκεν παλαιῶν Ἑφορος, ἥ οὐκ ἄλογον  
ἐντυχεῖν καὶ Ὅμηρον λέγεσθαι γὰρ φησιν ὑπὸ  
τῶν Ταρτησσίων Αἰθίοπας τὴν Λιβύην ἐπελθόντας  
μεχρι Δυρεως<sup>2</sup>· τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ  
τῆς παραλίας κατασχεῖν πολλὴν τεκμαίρεται  
δ' ἐκ τούτου καὶ Ὅμηρον εἰπεῖν οὕτως·

Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.  
(Oik. 1, 28)

27 Ταῦτά τε<sup>1</sup> δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον λέγοι  
ἂν τις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ  
ἄλλα τούτων ἐπικεικότερα, ἀφ' ὧν τὴν πολλὴν  
ἀγνοίαν ἀφαιρησεται τοῦ ποιητοῦ. φημὶ γὰρ  
κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλληνικὴν δόξαν, ὥσπερ  
τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν μέρη τὰ γνωριμα ἐνὶ ὀνόματι  
Σκύθας ἐκάλουν ἢ Νομαδας, ὥς Ὅμηρος, ὕστερον  
δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἰσπέραν γνωσθέντων Κελτοὶ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Δύρεως O. Müller, for δυρεως.

<sup>2</sup> τε, Cotaui, for δέ, Meineke following; O. Müller ap-  
proving.

they were believed by many possessing almost  
 perfect and unobscured vision. It is a matter of  
 great interest to know how far the eye can see  
 over the surface of the earth, and for the object  
 of this research the eye has been used as a standard  
 of vision, and the distance of the horizon has been  
 determined.

A survey was made of the distance  
 between the eye and the horizon, and the  
 distance between the eye and the horizon was  
 determined. The distance between the eye and the  
 horizon was determined by the distance between the  
 eye and the horizon, and the distance between the  
 eye and the horizon was determined. The distance  
 between the eye and the horizon was determined  
 by the distance between the eye and the horizon,  
 and the distance between the eye and the horizon  
 was determined. The distance between the eye and  
 the horizon was determined by the distance  
 between the eye and the horizon, and the distance  
 between the eye and the horizon was determined.  
 The distance between the eye and the horizon  
 was determined by the distance between the eye  
 and the horizon, and the distance between the  
 eye and the horizon was determined. The distance  
 between the eye and the horizon was determined  
 by the distance between the eye and the horizon,  
 and the distance between the eye and the horizon  
 was determined. The distance between the eye and  
 the horizon was determined by the distance  
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 and the distance between the eye and the horizon  
 was determined. The distance between the eye and  
 the horizon was determined by the distance  
 between the eye and the horizon, and the distance  
 between the eye and the horizon was determined.

The distance between the eye and the horizon was determined by the distance between the eye and the horizon, and the distance between the eye and the horizon was determined.



Ἰβηρες ἢ μικτῶς Κελτίβηρες καὶ Κελτοσκούθαι  
προσηγορεύοντο, ὑφ' ἃν ὄνομα τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα  
ἔθνων ταπτομένων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, οὕτω τὰ  
μεσημβρινὰ πάντα Αἰθιοπίαν καλεῖσθαι τὰ πρὸς  
ὠκεανῷ μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὃ τε γὰρ  
Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεῖ τῷ λυομένῳ φησὶν οὕτω·

φοινικόπεδον τ' ἐρυθρὰς ἱερὸν  
χεῦμα θαλάσσης,  
χαλκομάραντόν<sup>1</sup> τε παρ' Ὀκεανῷ  
λίμναν παντοτρόφον Αἰθιοπῶν,  
ἴν' ὁ παντοπτας Ἥλιος αἰεὶ  
χρῶτ' ἀθίνατον κάματος θ' ἵππων  
θερμαῖς ὕδατος  
μαλακοῦ προχοαῖς ἀναπαύει.

(fr. 192, Nauck)

παρ' ὅλον γὰρ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ  
ταύτην πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἴσχοντος τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ  
τὴν σχέσιν, παρ' ὅλον καὶ τοὺς Αἰθιοπας τάττων  
φαίνεται. ὃ τ' Εὐριπίδης ἐν<sup>2</sup> τῷ Φαέθοντι τὴν  
Κλυμένην δοθῆναί φησι

Μέροπι τῆσδ' ἀνακτι γῆς,  
ἦν ἐκ τεθριππων ἁρμάτων πρωτὴν χθόνα  
Ἥλιος ἀνίσχων χρυσέα βάλλει φλογί·  
καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν γειτονες μελάμβροτοι  
Ἐω φαεινὰς Ἥλιου θ' ἵπποστυσεις. (fr 771)

οὗν μὲν δὴ κοινὰς ποιεῖται τὰς ἵπποστάσεις τῇ τε  
Ἡοί καὶ τῷ Ἠλίῳ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς πλησίον αὐτὰς  
φησὶν εἶναι τῇ οἰκῇ τοῦ Μέρου· καὶ ἄλλῃ γε  
C 34 τῇ δραματουργίᾳ τοῦτο παραπεπλεκται, οὐ δὲ  
ποὺ τῆς κατ' Αἰγυπτίον ἰδίον ὄν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς



παρ' ὅλον τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα διηκούσης παραλίας.

28. Μηνύει δὲ καὶ Ἑφφορος τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας δόξαν, ὅς φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης λόγῳ, τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τόπων εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διηρημένων, το πρὸς τὸν ἀπηλιώτην Ἰνδοὺς ἔχειν, πρὸς νότον δὲ Αἰθιοπας, πρὸς δύσιν δὲ Κελτοὺς, πρὸς δε βορρᾶν ἄνεμοι Σκύθας. προστίθῃσι δ', ὅτι μείζων ἡ Αἰθιοπία καὶ ἡ Σκυθία· δοκεῖ γάρ, φησί, τὸ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἔθνος παρατείνειν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν χειμερινῶν μέχρι δυσμῶν, ἡ Σκυθία δ' ἀντίκειται τούτῳ, ὅτι, ὃ ποιητὴς ὁμολογῶς τούτοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε διήλον, ὅτι ἡ μὲν Ἰθάκη κεῖται

“πρὸς ξυφον” (ἥπερ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον)· αἱ δὲ τ' ἀνευθε πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,” (Οἰ. 9. 26)

ὅλον τὸ νότιον πλευρὸν οὕτω λέγων· καὶ ὅτι, ὅταν φῇ·

εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε.

εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοι γε ποτὶ ξυφον ἤερασεντα.

(Ιλ. 12. 239)

καὶ πάλιν·

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν, ὅπη ζόφος, οὐδ' ὅπη ἥως,

οὐδ' ὅπη ἡέλιος φασσίμβροτος εἰς' ὑπὸ γαῖαν,

οὐδ' ὅπη ἀννεῖται.

(Οἰ. 10. 190)

περὶ ὧν λέγεται καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Ἰθάκης λόگوις σαφέστερον. ὅταν οὖν φῇ·

Ζεὺς γάρ ἐς Ὀκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας  
χθιζὸς ἔβη,

(Π. 1. 423)

## GEOGRAPHY 101

because it is a part of the way the  
people are going to live and work.

[illegible]

• See page 106.

1. The above information was obtained from the files of the FBI, New York Office, and is being furnished to you for your information.

\* Dec 10, 2. 11 f.

κοινότερον δεκτέον καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὸν καθ' ὅλον τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα τεταμένον καὶ τοὺς Αἰθιοπας· ὃ γὰρ ἂν τοπῶ τοῦδε τοῦ κλίματος προσαβῇ τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὠκεανῷ ἔσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Αἰθιοπία. οὕτω δὲ λέγει καὶ τὸ

τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀνιῶν  
τηλύθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων ἴδεν, (Οἰ. 5. 282)

ἴσον τῷ ἀπὸ μεσημβρινῶν τύπων, Σολύμους λέγων οὐ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πισιδίᾳ, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφη· πρότερον, πλάσας<sup>1</sup> τινὰς ὁμωνύμους, τοὺς ἀναλόγως ἔχοντας πρὸς τε τὸν πλεοντα ἐν τῇ σχεδία καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μεσημβρινούς, ὡς ἂν Αἰθιοπας, ὡς αἱ Πισιδικοὶ πρὸς τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιοπας. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν γεράων λόγον κοινὸν παιοιμενός φησιν·

αἴ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον  
δμβρου,

C 35 κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων,  
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαῖοισι φονον καὶ κῆρα φέρου-  
σαι. (Π. 3. 4)

οὐ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις ὁράται φερομένη ἡ γέρανος ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβριαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἢ Ἰβηρίαν οὐδαμῶς ἢ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Κασπίαν καὶ Βακτριανήν. κατὰ πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν μεσημβρινὴν παραλίαν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παρατείνοντος, ἐφ' ἅπασαν δὲ καὶ χειμοφυγούντων, δέχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς Πυγμαίους μεμνημένους κατὰ πᾶσαν. εἰ δ' οἱ ὕστεροι ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> πλάσαι, A. Müller, for πλάσαι.

must understand both words in a more general sense, "Oceanus" meaning the body of water that extends along the entire southern belt and the "Ethiopians" meaning the people along the same extent, for upon whatever point of this belt you fix your attention, you will be both on Oceanus and in Ethiopia. And this is the meaning also of the words "On his way from the Ethiopians he espied Odysseus from afar, from the mountains of the Scyriæ"—which is equivalent to saying "from the regions of the north", for he does not mean the Scyriæ in Pontia, but, as I said before, he invents a people of the same name whom he depicts as occupying the same position relatively to the sailor on his raft and the people to the south of him (who would be the Ethiopians as the Persians occupy relatively to the Pontus and to the Ethiopians that is beyond Egypt. And in the manner Homer puts his assertion about the cranes in general terms: "When they flee from the coming of winter and sudden rain, and fly with clamour toward the streams of Oceanus, bearing slaughter and doom to the Pygmy men." For it is not the case that the crane is seen migrating toward the south only in Greek lands, and never in Italy or Iberia, or in the regions of the Caspian Sea and Bactriana. Since then, Oceanus stretches along the entire southern sea-board, and since the cranes migrate in winter to this entire sea-board, we must admit that the Pygmies also are placed by mythology along the entire extent of that sea-board. And if

<sup>1</sup> See page 77 and footnote.







29 Καὶ γὰρ εἴ καὶ τέλειος ἄλογον, εἰ τὰς μὲν  
 Αἰγυπτίους τῶνδε ἦναι σαφές, αἱ δὲ χονοὶ τῆς  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάσσης σταθιοὶ μερὸν ὑπολα-  
 ποίντες ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, τὸν δὲ μυθόν  
 τοῦ Ἀραβίου καλῶν μηδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰσμοῦ  
 τὸν κατ' αὐτόν, πλεονεχέοντα οἱ πλείονες ἢ  
 χίλιον σταθίων· πολλοὶ δ' ἂν ὑλοθετοῦν διξείην,  
 εἰ τὸν μὲν Νεῖλον ἦναι οὐκ ἐλάττω τῇ τοσαύτῃ  
 χώρῃ λεγόμενῃ, τῇ δ' αἰτίᾳ μηδὲν τοῦτον  
 μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν προσπιπτῶι το ἐκθῆναι ὑφ' Ἡρο-  
 δοτὸν ἐντιθέσθαι ἢ ἡ χώρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ὑποτοῦ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀλλὰ τὰ  
 τῶν παρ' ἐκαστοῖς ἄλλων ταῦτ' ἐστὶ γνωστέοντα,  
 ἡ καὶ παραδοξία ἔχει τιμὴν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φανερόν  
 πάσις ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ὅ ἐστι καὶ ἡ τοῦ Νεῖλου  
 ἀνατίσις καὶ ἡ προσχώσις τοῦ πελάγους καὶ  
 καθ' ἕτερον οἱ προσαγγέντες πρὸς τὴν Αἰγύπτου  
 εἰδὲν πλεονεχέοντες περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἢ τὴν  
 τοῦ Νεῖλου φύσιν, ὅσα το τοῦ ἐπιχειροῦντος μὴτε  
 κακώτερα τούτων λέγειν ἔχειν τρεῖς ἀντί-ας ξένους,  
 μὴ ἐπιφανέστερα περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τῇ γὰρ  
 ἰστοροῦσιν περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ ἡ  
 χώρα γινώσκται πᾶσα, ὅπως τίς ἐστίν, οὕτως καὶ  
 οἱ παρελθόντες ἀκούοντες οὐδὲν προτερον ἰστοροῦσι  
 τοῦτον προστιθεῖν οὐδ' αὖτε τοῦ φιλεῖντος  
 τοῦ περὶ τοῦ καὶ το φιλεῖντος, ὅτι αὐτῷ μαρ-  
 τυροῦσιν ὅσοι τὸν ἕως ἀνατολῆς, καὶ ἐν  
 αὐτῶν δὲ λαμβάνεται τῶν ποιημάτων πολλὰ  
 παραδείγματα τοῦ τοιοῦτου. εἴτε μὲν οὖν ἐκ  
 πλείωνων ἐλεγχεται καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ λεγὼν ῥητῶς

Temporary Use Comm. n. for emergency, Grandd.  
Further following C. Miller approving.

[illegible]<sup>c</sup> Temperature 25 ± 0.5 °C.

τὰ βῆτὰ καὶ συγκῶν τὰ λίαν ἐκφανῇ ἢ ἐπιθέτως λέγων.

30. Θαυμάζειν δὲ δεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Σύρων, πρὸς οὓς νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, εἰ μὴδ' ἐκείνου λέγοντος τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώρια συνιάσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγνοϊαν αἰτιῶνται, ἣ αὐτοὺς ἐνόχους δεικνυσκ. ὁ λόγος. ἀπλῶς δὲ τὸ μὴ λέγειν οὐ τοῦ μὴ εἶδέναι σημεῖον ἐστίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰς τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου λέγει, οὐδὲ τὰς θερμοπύλας, οὐδ' ἄλλα πλείω τῶν γνωρίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ μὴν ἠγνοεγε. ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγει, οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς ἐβελόκωφοῦσιν· ὥστε ἐκείνους αἰτιατέον. ὁ ποιητὴς τοίνυν διππετέας καλεῖ τοὺς ποταμούς, οὐ τοὺς χειμάρρους μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντας κοινῶς, ὅτι πληροῦνται πάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ομβρίων ὑδάτων· ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἴδιον γίνεται. ἄλλως γὰρ ἂν τὸν χειμάρρου ἀκούοι τις διππετῇ καὶ ἄλλως τὸν ἀεναον· ἐνταῦθα δὲ διπλασιάζει πως ἡ ἐξοχή· καὶ καθυπερ εἰσὶ τινες ὑπερβολαὶ ἐπὶ ὑπερβολαῖς, ὥς τὸ κουφότερον εἶναι φελλοῦ σκιᾶς, δειλότερον δὲ λαγῶ Φρυγός, ἐλάττω δ' ἔχειν γῆν τὸν ἄγρον ἐπιστολῆς Λακωνικῆς οὕτως ἐξοχῇ ἐπὶ ἐξοχῇ συντρέχει ἐπὶ τοῦ διππετῇ τὸν Νεῖλον λέγεσθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ χειμάρρους ὑπερ-

<sup>1</sup> Compare I. 2. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Aristarchus and Crates, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> That is, "heaven-fell" in the former case is used in the literal sense of the Greek word, "heaven-fallen," and applies



βεβληται τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς τῷ διμετῇ  
 εἶναι· ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος καὶ τοὺς χειμαρρῶν ἐπι το-  
 σοῦτον πληρουμένοι καὶ πληθύνει καὶ χρονοῦ.  
 ὥστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ γνωρίζον ἦν τὸ παῖος τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 C 37 τῷ ποιητῇ, ὥστε<sup>1</sup> παραμεμυθμένα, καὶ κί-  
 χρηται τῷ ἐπιθετῇ τουτῷ κατ' αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἄλλως  
 δεκτεον ἢ ὡς εἰρηκαμέν. το δὲ πλειοσι στύμασι  
 ἐκδιδουαι κοῖνον καὶ πλεονων, ὥστ οὐκ ἄξιον  
 μνημῆς ὑπέλαβε, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς εἰδυτας· καθη-  
 περ οὐδ' Ἀλκαῖος, καίτοι φησιν ἱφίχθους καὶ  
 αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον. αἱ δὲ προσχωσεῖ καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν «κατίσσω» μὲν δυναταὶ ὑπενόεσθαι καὶ ἐξ  
 ὧν δὲ εἶπε περὶ τῆς Ἑβρου. ὁ γὰρ ἱστορῶν αὐτῷ  
 περὶ τῆς Ἑβρου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ κοινὴ φήμη, διότι  
 μὲν τότε τοσοῦτον ἀπειχεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπειρου, ἐφ'<sup>2</sup>  
 ὅσον φησί, ὁρομον ὡς ἡμερησιον, οὐκ ἂν εἴη  
 διατεθρυλημένη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐψευσμένως, ὅτι  
 ἢ ἡ ἀνάβασις καὶ αἱ προσχωσεῖς τοιαυταὶ τινες,  
 κοινότερον πεπυσθαι εἰκὸς ἦν· ἐξ ὧν συνθείς ὁ  
 ποιητῆς, ὅτι πλέον ἢ τότε ἀφείσθηται τῆς γῆς ἡ  
 κῆρος κατὰ τὴν Μενελάου παρουσίαν, προσέθηκε  
 παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πολλαπλῶσιον διςστημα τοῦ μυθοῦ  
 ὅς τις χυρεῖ· αἱ δὲ μυθοποιαὶ οὐκ ἀγνοίας<sup>3</sup>  
 σημεῖα<sup>4</sup> ἔησαν, οὐδὲ<sup>5</sup> τα περὶ τοῦ Πρωτεῦς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὥστε. A. Müller. for ὅς, A. Vogel approving.

<sup>2</sup> ἐφ. Carpentier.

<sup>3</sup> χυρεῖ, Coptic deletion, after ὅς; Meineke, Forbiger, follow. C. Müller approving.

<sup>4</sup> σημεῖα, to refer not against the opinion of Cyprian and Meibom. γάρ, after ὅς; Coptic deletion, Forbiger following. C. Müller approving.

<sup>5</sup> οὐδὲ, after ὅς; Coptic deletion, Forbiger following. C. Müller approving.

## C. GEOGRAPHY

[illegible]

τῶν Πυγμαίων, οὐδ' αἱ τῶν φαρμακῶν δυνάμεις,  
οὐδ' εἴ τι ἄλλο ταιούτων οἷ ποιηται πλάττονται  
οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἄγνοιαν τῶν τοπικῶν λέγεται, ἀλλ'  
ἡδονῆς καὶ τέρψεως χάριν πῶς οὖν καὶ ἄνυδρον  
οὔσαν φησὶν ὕδωρ ἔχειν;

ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὐορμος, ὅθεν τ' ἀπὸ νῆας εἰσας  
ἐς πόντον βάλλουσιν ἀφυσσάμενοι μέλαν ὕδωρ.  
(Od. 4. 358)

ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ ὕδρεϊον ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδύνατον, οὔτε τὴν  
ὕδρεϊαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου γενέσθαι φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
ἀναγωγὴν μόνην διὰ τὴν τοῦ λιμένος ἀρετὴν, τὸ  
δ' ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς ἀρύσασθαι παρῇν, ἐξομο-  
λογουμένον πως τοῦ ποιητοῦ δὲ ἐμφάσεως, ὅτι  
πελαγίαν εἶπεν οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
ὑπερβολὴν καὶ μυθοποιῶσαν.

31 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πλάτης τῆς  
Μενελάου λεχθέντα συνηγορεῖν δοκεῖ τῇ ἁγνοίᾳ  
τῇ περὶ τοὺς τοπούς ἐκείνους, βέλτιον ἴσως ἐστί,  
τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τούτοις ζητούμενα προεκθεμένους  
ἅμα ταῦτά τε διαστεῖλαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ  
ἀπολογήσασθαι καθαρωτερον. φησὶ δὴ πρὸς  
Τηλέμαχον ὁ Μενέλαος θαυμάσαντα τὸν τῶν  
Βασιλείων κόσμον·

ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεῖς  
ἠγαγόμην ἐν νηυσί, καὶ ὀγδοάτῳ ἔτει ἦλθον,  
Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς,  
Αἰθιοπίας θ' ἰκομην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβούς  
καὶ Λιβύην.  
(Od. 4. 81)

C 38 Ζητοῦσι δέ, πρὸς τίνας ἦλθεν Αἰθίοπας, κλέων

not the natural effects of magic persons nor any other such instances of the poets. The gods themselves are too, not in question of geography but in order to give pleasure or excitement. How does it come then that Homer says that Phaeacia has water without water? It is because it is a grassy plain where men upon the sea, perched upon steep inclines deep down they have drawn a shore of black water. Now in the first place it is not impossible that the source of the water has dried up. In the second place Homer does not say that the water came from the sea and he means that he is talking of the stream in two places there is no source of the water and if he has but the water itself may have been drawn from the opposite mountain side as it was the poet by means of a contrivance that when he arrived at Ithaca in the open sea he did not use it in a little harbour but as an hope to land or any other statement.

3. Now since it is thought that Homer is accused of the weakness of his mind we argue for ignorance of his country on his part. I am not in a position to make a preliminary statement of the questions raised but by these persons and then at once to answer those questions. Thus upon more clearly statement of the part. Menelaus says to him to his wife who has remained at the banquet of her house. I am after many a winter summer of married life, I have not seen him in ship, and in the eight year came to her. I reached over Ionia and Phoenicia and Egypt and came to Ethiopia, and then I went to Libya and to Libya. Now they ask to what it signifies he came in this



δὲ Αἰγύπτου· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμέτε θαλάττῃ  
 αἰκοῦσι τινες Ἀΐδιοι, οὔτε τοῦ Νείλου τοις  
 καταράσιν ἢ διαλθεῖν παυσί· τινες τε οἱ Σι-  
 δονιοί· οὐ γὰρ οἱ γε ἐν Φοινικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸ  
 γενοῦς προέβη· τὸ εἶδος ἐπήνεγκε τίς τε οἱ  
 ἑκαμβοί, καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα Ἀριστωνικός μὲν  
 αὖν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς  
 Μεσσημίου πλανῆς πολλῶν ἀναγεγραφένων ἰνδρῶν  
 ἀποφάσεις περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐκεῖ μένων κεφα-  
 λαίων· ἡμῶν δ' ἄρκεσι καὶ ἐπιτέμνοιτεν λεγόμεν  
 οἱ μὲν δὴ πλεῦσαι φήσαντες εἰς τὴν Λιβύειαν,  
 οἱ μὲν περιπλοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰαδευῶν μέχρι τῆς  
 Ἰνδικῆς εἰσαγοῦσι, ἅμα καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῇ πληρῇ  
 συνοικεῖοντες, ἂν φησιν, ὅτι ὀνόματι εἶται ἤλθον·  
 οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρμενίον  
 κάλπον· οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν διασπασθῶν τινος· οὔτε δ' ὁ  
 πειροπλοῦς ἀνιγκαῖος δὲ Κράτης εἰσαγεῖ, οὐχ ὡς  
 ἄξιον εἶναι ἂν<sup>1</sup>· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Ὀδυσσεὺς πλανῆ  
 ἂν ἦν<sup>2</sup> ἀδυνατός), ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε πρὸς τὰς ὑπο-  
 θέσεις τὰς μαθηματικὰς χρησίμος, οὔτε πρὸς τὸν  
 χρόνον τῆς πλανῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἀκούσιοι δια-μαρτα-  
 κατέσχον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ εὐσπλυνίας φησαντος ὅτι  
 ὅπο ἔξηκοντα πρῶν πεντε θλειφθήσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ  
 ἐκούσιοι χρηματισμοῦ χάριν φησι γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων

ὅς ὁ μὲν ἐνθα πολὺν βίον καὶ χρυσὸν ἀγείρων  
 ἤλατο ξυμνησι (Od. 3. 361)

Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαλη-  
 θεῖς (Od. 4. 83)

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῶν, Madvig, for τὰν ἐπὶ. A. Vogel approving.

<sup>2</sup> εἴη ἐν Σ' ἐπὶ for εἴη, adapting the suggestion in Madvig's conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν Σ', B. ἔμμε ἰσαετα, before ἀδυνατός.

sailing from Egypt for no Reasoners live in the  
 Mountains where the Nile rises & where the ships to  
 pass the cataracts of the Nile and who the  
 Nile rises are for there are certainly not those that  
 live in Phoenicia, who he would not have put the  
 poems for and the brought in the species and  
 who the Reasoners are for that is a new matter  
 Now Aristotle the preservation of our own genera  
 tion in our work for the Marriage of Menelaus has  
 revealed us and of any work in each one of  
 the works of the poets but we must not be content  
 to read only the three poems (1) those who  
 are the Mountains in Phoenicia some pro-  
 pose a country near the Gades as is as in a  
 moving his mountains contained exactly to the  
 time which Homer gives as the eighth year I  
 came and but others propose that he would  
 know he was a that live at the head of the  
 Arabian Gulf while still others propose that he  
 must travel and be carried to the Nile that in  
 the first place there is no of a country so large  
 to contain it and that such a voyage would be  
 impossible for the mountains of Phoenicia would  
 have been impossible to pass up it unless a per-  
 ppetual river of water was maintained by it and  
 or a great salt lake contained it he was a ship  
 For Menelaus was taken against his will because  
 of the different of water between the sea and out  
 of water and the river left to him and he had  
 made a journey of sea for the sake of trading  
 For Nestor says "That Menelaus got on a much  
 sooner than he and was wandering there with his  
 ship" but Menelaus who having crossed  
 over Cyprus and Phoenicia and Egypt" Again, the

ὅ τε διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πλοῦς ἢ τῶν διαρύγων λεγόμενος μὲν ἤκουτο ἂν ἐν μυθῶν σχηματι, μὴ λεγόμενος δὲ περιττῶς καὶ ἀπίθανως εἰσηγοίτο ἂν ἀπίθανως δὲ λέγω, ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἰρωικῶν οὐδεμία ἦν διῶρυξ· τὸν δὲ ἐπιχειρήσαντα ποιῆσαι Σεσωστριν ἀποστήναί φασι, μετεωροτερὰν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιφάνειαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἦν πλόμος· ἀλλ' εἰκαζει ὁ Ἑρατοσθένης οὐκ εὔ. μὴ γάρ ποτε τὸ ἔκρηγμα τὸ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας γεγονέναι νομίζει ὥστε ἐνταῦθα<sup>1</sup> συναπτειν τὴν εἰς ω θαλάσσαν τῇ ἑκτος<sup>2</sup> καὶ καλύπτειν τὸν ἰσθμὸν μετεωροτέραν οὔσαν, τοῦ δ' ἐκρήγματος γενομένου ταπεινωθῆναι καὶ ἀνακαλύψαι τὴν γῆν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Κάσιον καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον μέχρι τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς. τίνα οὖν ἔχομεν ἱστορίαν περὶ τοῦ ἐκρήγματος τούτου, διότι πρὸ τῶν Ἰρωικῶν οὐπω ὑπῆρχεν, ἵσως δ' ὁ ποιητὴς ἅμα μὲν τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα ταύτῃ διεκπλήνonta εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν πεποίηκεν, ὡς ἤδη ἐκρήγματος γενοτος, ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν τὸν Μενέλαον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ναυστολεῖν, ὡς οὐπω γενοτος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πρωτέα εἰσάγει λέγοντα αὐτῷ.

ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδίων καὶ πείρατα γαίης  
ἀθανάτοι πέμψουσι. (Od. 4. 563)

<sup>1</sup> Groenink inserts *μέ* before *ἐνταῦθεν* (Kramer, Meineke. Forner, Dübner Müller following), thus referring *ἐνταῦθεν* to the Pillars. A. Vogel shows that *ἐνταῦθεν* refers to the Isthmus and that *μέ* is wrong.

<sup>2</sup> Groenink writes *τὴν ἐκ θαλάσσης τῇ ἑκτῇ* for *τὴν ἐκ θαλάσσης τῇ ἑκτῇ*, Dübner Müller, Forbiger following Meineke, too, follows except that he writes *ἐκ* for *ἐκ*, A. Vogel approving.

voyage through the isthmus or one of the routes  
 would if Homer mentioned such a voyage, be  
 interpreted as a kind of fiction. But since he does  
 not mention such a voyage it would be great  
 and would be to prove it. It would be a  
 repeat since under the Roman War there was a  
 canal, and the persons who undertook to build one—  
 I mean Sennacherib—is said to have abandoned the  
 undertaking because he supposed the level of the  
 Mediterranean Sea was too high. Furthermore the  
 thing was no way to either and it is not  
 correct to say that the level of the sea was  
 of the channel at the time of Heracles had not yet  
 taken place and that in consequence the Mediter-  
 ranean Sea, since it was at a higher level joined  
 the entire sea at the isthmus and covered it, and  
 after the breaking of the channel took place at the  
 Pillars the Mediterranean Sea was lowered and thus  
 exposed the isthmus of Sennacherib and Persia as far  
 as the Red Sea. Now what is the reason of nations  
 have we regarding this break at the Pillars is the  
 effect that it did not yet exist before the Trojan  
 War? But perhaps you will say the poet has  
 represented the current as making through the strait  
 at the Pillars into the ocean as though a channel  
 were already in existence at the same time as the  
 current. Menelaus being from Egypt into the Red  
 Sea as though a channel were not yet in existence.  
 Furthermore Homer brings in Proteus as saying to  
 Menelaus: "Nay the northern gods will convey  
 thee to the Libyan Plains and to the end of the

1 See 17, 1, 20, also Herodotus, 2, 25, and 4, 20.

ποῖα οὖν καὶ διτι ἑσπέριον τινα λέγει τόπον  
τοῦτον ἑσχατον, ὁ Ζέφυρος παρατεθείς δηλοῖ

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροισι λεγὺν πνέοντος αἴητας  
᾽Ωκεανὸς ἀνιῇσι. (Ocl. 4. 567)

ταῦτα γὰρ αἰνύγματος πλήρη

32. Εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ σύρρουν ποτὲ ὑπάρξαντα τὸν  
ἰσθμὸν τοῦτον ὁ ποιητὴς ἱστορεῖται ποσῶι μείζονα  
ἂν ἔχοιμεν πίστιν τοῦ τοῦτος Λίθιπας δεχθῶ  
διηρῆσθαι, πορθμῶ τηλικούτῳ διειρηγημένους, τίς  
δὲ καὶ χρηματισμός παρὰ τῶν ἔξω καὶ κατὰ τὸν  
᾽Ωκεανὸν Λίθιπων; ἅμα μὲν γὰρ θαυμίζουσι τοῦ  
κυσμου τῶν βασιλείων οἱ περὶ Ἰηλεμαχὸν τὸ  
πλήθος, ὃ ἐστὶ

χρυσαῦ τ' ἡλέκτρον τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἡδ' ἐλέ-  
φαντος. (Ocl. 4. 73)

ταύτων δ' οὐδενὸς πλὴν ἐλέφαντος εὐπορία παρ'  
ἐκείνοις ἐστίν, ἱστορωτάτοις τῶν ἀπάντων οἷσι  
τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ νομασι νῆ Δι.α, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἀραβία  
προσῆν καὶ τα μεχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ταύτων δ' ἡ  
μὲν εὐδαίμων κέκληται μόνη τῶν ἀπασῶν, τὴν δέ,  
εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνομαστὲ καλοῖσιν οὕτως,<sup>1</sup> ὑπολαμ-  
βάνουσί γε καὶ ἱστοροῦσιν, ὡς εὐδαιμονοστατην  
τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἰνδικὴν οὐκ οἶδεν Ὅμηρος, εἰδὼς δὲ  
ἐμέμνητο ἄν.<sup>2</sup> τὴν δ' Ἀραβίαν, ἣν εὐδαιμονα  
προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ νῦν,<sup>3</sup> τότε δ' οὐκ ἦν πλουσία,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἄπορος καὶ ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> καλοῦσιν οὕτως, with a comma after οὕτως, A. Miller, for  
καλοῦσιν, οὕτως, A. Vogel ἀπορὸν ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> Keckhoff de etiam ἡδὲ de ἐμέμνητο de as a marginal gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Μεμνηται. Cramer close Greek τίς οἶδε μὲν, which Lattimore,  
Pöhlner-Müller Forbiger follow after αὐτῶν

earth." What end of the earth, pray? Why, the end of Zephyrus shows that he means by this remote region a place somewhere in the west. But always there is a death-blow to the breezes of the east blowing Zephyrus. How, then, these matters are full of puzzling questions.

As I, however, the poet had heard that this kingdom was new and unknown, should we not save all the greater reason for saying that the Ethiopians, since they were assisted by so great a fleet, were really victorious in time? And how could Menelaus have gotten treasures from the remote Ethiopians who were a long distance? For at the moment when he was celebrating his triumphs, he was in the palace of Menelaus, Telemachus and his companions marvelled at the great quantity of them—"of gold and of amber and of ivory and of every thing, but with the exception of ivory there is no great store of any of these things among these people, most of whom are the shepherds of all peoples and are wandering shepherds." Very true, you say. "But Arabia and the regions as far as India belonged to them, and though Arabia alone of all these countries, as the name itself hints, is supposed and reported to be in the highest degree thickest, even though people do not so call it by name. Now as to India, Homer did not know of it, for had he known of it, it would have been mentioned; but he did know the Arabia which is to-day called Best. At that time, however, it was not rich and not only was the country itself without resources but most of it was occupied by

\* That is, Arabia Felix, east of the Red Sea. Strabo defines it in lib. 3. 2.

σκηναίων ἀνδρῶν· ὀλίγη δ' ἡ ἀρωματοφόρος, δι'  
 ἣν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦνομα εὔρετο ἡ χώρα δια τὸ καὶ  
 τὸν φόρτον εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν  
 σπάνιον καὶ τιμίον. κυνὶ μὲν οὖν εὐποροῦσι καὶ  
 πλουτοῦσι διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν εἶναι πυκνὴν  
 καὶ θαψιλήν, τότε δ' οὐκ εἰκος. αὐτῶν δὲ χάριν  
 τῶν ἀρωμάτων ἐμπόρων μὲν καὶ καμηλιτῶν γένοιτ'  
 ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων φορτίων εὐπορία Μειγλυρ  
 δε λαφυρῶν ἢ δωρεῶν εἶδει παρὰ βασιλέων καὶ  
 δυναστῶν, ἔχοντων τε ἃ διώσουσι καὶ βουλευμένων  
 δίδουσι διὰ τὴν ἐπιφικνίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐκλειαν  
 οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτιοὶ καὶ οἱ πλησίον Αἰθιοπεῖς  
 καὶ Ἀραβεῖς οὐθ' οὕτω τελείως ἄβιοι, αὐτ' ἀνηκούσας  
 τῆς τῶν Ἀτρείδων δόξης, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν  
 κατορθώσιν τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου, ὥστ' ἑλπίς ἦν  
 C 40 τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφελείας καθυπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ θώρακος  
 τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος λέγεται,

τόν ποτέ σὶ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήιον εἶναι  
 πευθετο γὰρ Κυπρονδε μεγα κλεος (Il. 1) 20)

καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλείον χρόνον τῆς πλαινης λεκτέον  
 μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Φινικὴν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ  
 Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβυὴν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ  
 Κύπρον χωρία καὶ ὅλως τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς παραλίαν  
 καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ γὰρ ξενία παρὰ τούτοις καὶ  
 τὸ βίαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ λεηλασίας πορισσάσθαι, καὶ  
 μάλιστα παρὰ τῶν συμμαχῆσαντων τοῖς Τρωσίν,  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἦν. οἱ δ' ἕκτος καὶ πορρὸς βαρβαροί

<sup>1</sup> The Troglodytes on the western side of the Arabian Gulf (l. 1 3). <sup>2</sup> See 10. 2. 2. <sup>3</sup> See 10. 2. 1.

dwellers in tents. The part of Arabia that produces the spices is small, and it is from this small territory that the ~~Arabians~~ got the name of Best because each merchant is rare in our part of the world and costly. Today to be sure the Arabs are well to do and even so, because their trade is extensive and abundant, but it is not seen to have been so in all former time. So far as the more spices are concerned, a merchant of some riches might attain to a certain sort of wealth by trafficking in them, whereas Menelaos needed luxury or presents from kings or tyrants who had not only the means to give out as well the goods, but to make him presents because of his distinction and fame. The Egyptians, however, and the neighbouring Phoenicians and Arabs were not wholly destitute of the means of wealth, and as were the three Ethiopians who were ignorant of the cause of the storm on Akropolis, but in a view of the economic cause of the Trojan War, and hence Menelaos sought spoils for profit from them. The pure moral it ever says of the broadcast of Agamemnon. The blood of the gods was not to be given for a guest, for after in times did Ceyxus hear he was to take. Furthermore we must note it at Menelaos time in his wanderings was spent about the region about Phoenicia, Syria, Egypt and Libya and other countries, and, and generally speaking among the Mediterranean sea-board and among the islands. For Menelaos might procure goods among these peoples and also enrich himself from them by violence and robbery, and more particularly from those who had been allies of the Trojans. But the seafarers that lived outside these regions or at a distance could



αὐδεμίαν τοιαύτην ὑπεργόρευαν ἑλπίδα. εἰς οὖν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἀφίχθαι λέγεται ὁ Μενέλαος, οὐχ ὅτι εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τῷ ὄντι ἀφίκτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι<sup>1</sup> μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ. τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλησιαίτεροι ἦσαν ταῖς Θήβαις οἱ τότε ὄροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ νῦν πλησίον εἰσίν, οἱ κατὰ Συήνην καὶ τὰς Φίλας ὧν ἡ μὲν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐστίν, αἱ δὲ Φίλαι κοινὴ κατοικία τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. ὁ οὖν εἰς Θήβας ἀφικνόμενος εἰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὄρων ἀφίκτο ἢ καὶ περαιτέρω τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, καὶ ταῦτα τῇ βασιλικῇ ξενίᾳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἄλογον. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Κικλῶπων εἰς γαίαν ἀφίχθαι φησιν ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς, μέχρι τοῦ σπηλαίου προελθὺνθ' ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπ' ἐσχατίας γὰρ ἰδρῦσθαί ποι λέγει καὶ εἰς Αἰόλιαν δὲ καὶ Δαιστρυγόνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅποι ποτὲ καὶ καθωρμίσατο, ἐκεῖσέ φησιν ἀφίχθαι. καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος οὖν οὕτως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἦκεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ εἰς Λιβυήν, ὅτι προσέσχε τύποις τισίν' ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὴν Ἀρδανίδα<sup>2</sup> λιμὴν τὴν ὑπὲρ Παραίτωνίου Μενέλαος καλεῖται.

33. Εἰ δὲ Φοίνικας εἰπων ὀνομάζει καὶ Σιδονίους, τὴν μητροπολιν αὐτῶν, σχηματι συνηθεῖ χρήται, ὥς

Τρώας τε καὶ Ἑκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσε

(Il. 13. 1)

<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τῷ ὄντι ἀφίκτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι, Casaubon inserts; Forbiger, Stettin, following, Kraiser approving.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρδανίδα, Kraiser, for Ἀρδανίαν.

prompt in him no such expectations. Now Homer says that Menelaus "came to" Ethiopia, not meaning that he really came into Ethiopia, but that he reached its frontier next to Egypt. For perhaps at that time the frontier was still nearer the sea, though to-day it is quite near. I mean the frontier that runs between Egypt and Phœn. Of these towns the former belongs to Egypt, but Phœnæ is inhabited alike by Ethiopians and Egyptians. Accordingly, when Menelaus came to Lycia, I need not say he passed if he also came as far as the frontier of Lycia, or even further, especially since he was enjoying the hospitality of the king of Lycia.<sup>1</sup> And it is in the same sense that Odysseus says he came to the country of the Cyclopes, although he did not get any farther away from the sea than the cave, for he says that the cave lay "on the edge" of the country, I believe, and again in referring to the country of Æolus, to the Laestrygonians and the rest—wherever, I say, he so much as came to anchor, he says he "came to" the country. It is in this sense therefore, that Menelaus "came to" Ethiopia and in this sense to Lycia, too, namely, that he "touched at" certain points, and it is from his having touched there that the harbor at Ardania above Parætonium<sup>2</sup> is called "Menelaus."

33 Now Homer in speaking of the Phœnicians, mentions Sidon as also, who occupy the Phœnician metropolis, he is but employing a figurative figure of speech, as when he says "Now Zeus, when he had brought the Trojans and Hector to the ships," and,

<sup>1</sup> See I. 2. 44.    <sup>2</sup> Od. 4. 108.    <sup>3</sup> Od. 2. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Od. 2. 84.    <sup>5</sup> Now, Barcelona.

καὶ

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος νίεες ἦσαν  
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἦν, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέ-  
αγρος· (Ιλ. 2. 641)

καὶ "Ἰδην δ' ἴκανεν" καὶ "Γάργαρον" (Ιλ. 8. 47)  
καὶ "οἳ δ' Εἰβοίαν ἔχον" καὶ "Χαλκίδα τ' Εἰρέ-  
τριάν τε" (Ιλ. 2. 536).

καὶ Σαπφώ·

ἦ σε Κύπρος ἢ Πάφος ἢ Πάνορμος.<sup>1</sup>

καίτοι καὶ ἄλλο τι ἦν τὸ ποιῆσαν, καίπερ ἤδη  
μνησθέντα τῆς Φοινίκης, ἰδίως πάλιν καὶ τὴν  
Σιδωνα συγκαταλέξει. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰ ἐφεξῆς  
ἔθνη καταλέξει ἱκανῶς εἶχεν οὕτως εἰπεῖν.

Κύπροι Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς  
Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκομην· (Οδ. 4. 83)

- C 41 Ἰνα δ' ἐμφήνη καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Σιδονίοις ἀπο-  
δημίαν, καλῶς εἶχεν εἶτ' ἀναλαβεῖν εἴτε καὶ  
παραλαβεῖν, ἣν ἐπὶ πλεον γενομένην ἐμφαίνει<sup>2</sup>  
διὰ τῶν ἐπαίνων τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐτεχνίας καὶ  
τοῦ τὴν Ἑλένην προεξενῶσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου διοπερ παρὰ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρῷ  
πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποκειμενα λόγει·

ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυ-  
ναϊκῶν

Σιδονίων, ἃς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς  
ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν

τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγε· (Ιλ. 6. 289)

<sup>1</sup> ἢ Πάνορμος, Casanabon, for ἢ Πάνορμος, Corais, Groskurd,  
following.



καὶ παρὰ τῷ Μενελάῳ· λέγει γὰρ πρὸς Τηλέμαχον,

δώσω τοι κρητῆρα τετυγμένον· ἀργύρεος δὲ  
ἐστὶν ἅπας, χρυσῷ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκρίμανται.  
ἔργον δ' Ἡφαίστοιο· πόρεν δὲ ἑ Φαιδίμος· ἦρως  
Σιδονίων βασιλεύς, ὅθ' ἑὸς δόμος ἀμφεκάλυψε  
κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα (Ιλ. 4. 615, Οδ. 15. 115)

δεῖ δὲ δεξασθαι πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν εἰρημέναν τὸ  
Ἡφαίστου ἔργον, ὡς λέγεται Ἀθηνᾶς ἔργα τὰ  
καλὰ καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Μουσῶν. ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε οἱ  
ἄνδρες ἦσαν καλλιτέχνοι, δηλοῖ τὸν κρατῆρα  
ἐπαμνῶν, ὃν ὁ Εὐνείας ἔδωκεν ἀντι Λυκίου· φησὶ  
γὰρ,

κάλλει ἐνίκᾳ πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν  
πολλόν· ἐπεὶ Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι εὖ ἤσκησαν,  
Φοίνικες δ' ἄγον ἄνδρες. (Ιλ. 23. 742)

34. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑρεμβῶν πολλὰ μὲν εἴρηται,  
πιθανώτατοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ νομίζοντες τοὺς Ἀραβίας  
λέγεσθαι. Ζήνων δ' ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ γράφει  
οὕτως·

Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους Ἀραβίας τε.  
(Οδ. 4. 84)

τὴν μὲν οὖν γραφὴν οὐκ ἀνάγκη κινεῖν, παλαιὰν  
οὖσαν· αἰτιᾶσθαι δὲ βέλτιον τὴν τοῦ ονόματος  
μετάπτωσιν, πολλὴν καὶ ἐπιπολαίαν οὖσαν ἐν  
πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ ποιούσιν τινες  
παραγραμματίζοντες. ἄριστα δ' ἂν δοξαιεν εἰπεῖν  
ὁ Ποσειδῶν, κἀνταῦθα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἔθνων  
συγγενείας καὶ κοινότητος ἐτυμολογῶν. τὸ γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> φαίδιμος, Stierrett, for φαίδιμος.

house of Menelaus too, for Menelaus says to Telemachus "I will give thee a mixing bowl beautifully wrought, it is all of silver, and the lips thereof are finished with gold, the work of Hephaestus and the hero Phaedimus, the king of the Sidonians, gave it me, when his house sheltered me on my coming thither." But the expression "the work of Hephaestus" must be regarded as a case of hyperbole, just as beautiful things are spoken of as "works of Athens, or of the Graces, or of the Muses. For Homer makes it clear that the Sidonians were makers of beautiful works of art, by the praise he bestows on the bowl which Euneos gave as a ransom for Lycaon; his words are "In beauty it was far the best in all the earth, for artificers of Sidon wrought it cunningly, and men of the Phoenicians brought it."

34. Much has been said about the Erembians, but those men are most likely to be correct who believe that Homer meant the Arabians. Our Zeno<sup>1</sup> even writes the text accordingly "And I came to the Euboeans and Sidonians and Arabians." However, it is not necessary to change the reading, for it is old. It is better to lay the confusion to the change of their name, for such change is frequent and noticeable among all nations, than to change the reading—as in fact some do when they emend by changing certain letters. But it would seem that the view of Posidonius is best, for here he derives an etymology of the words from the kinship of the peoples and their common characteristics

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, page xvi.

τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν ἴσως καὶ τὸ τῶν Συρίων καὶ Ἀρ-  
 βῶν πολλὰς ἐμφυλίας ἐμφύωνται, κατὰ τὰ τῶν  
 δευλευτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς τῶν σωματικῶν  
 χάριτας καὶ καλίστα κατὰ πλὴν ὑγίαινας.  
 ὅτι οἱ δὲ Ἀρμενοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τριῶν εὐεστέρως  
 τοῦτων εἶπεν· καλίστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τούτοις ὁμοιοῦται  
 διαφύεται. οἱ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς καλὰς ἔχοντες  
 διαφέροντες τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς  
 μεσημερινοὺς καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς μεσοῦς τοὺς  
 Συρίους· ἀλλ' ἐνικρατεῖ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ οἱ  
 Ἀρμενικοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀρβῆνοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρμενιοὶ·  
 παραπληρώσει πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἵαται ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἰσχυρῶν  
 ταῦτων καὶ νόμοις ἐμφερῶς ἀλλήλους εἶναι  
 τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Συρίων καλοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 τῶν Συρίων Ἀρμενίων· καὶ Ἀρμενιοὺς καλεῖ  
 οὗτοι ταῦτα δὲ εἰσέρχονται τοὺς Ἀρμενιοὺς καὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀρβῆνοι καὶ Ἑβραῖους, ταῦτα τῶν πολλῶν Ἑβρα-  
 ῶν οἷον καλοῦνται τοὺς Ἀρβῆνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ  
 ἐν τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐκ τῶν ἐκ τῶν  
 οἷον οἱ πολλοὶ, οἱ μεταγενέστεροι οἱ ἰσχυροὶ  
 ἐπὶ τὸ καφιστὸν Τριφυλίαν καλεῖται οὗτοι  
 δὲ οἱ Ἀρμενιοὶ εἰς τὸ βαθεῖον μέρος τοῦ Ἀρ-  
 βῶν καλεῖται καλεῖται, τὰ πρὸς Ἀιγύπτου καὶ  
 Αἰθιοπίας τούτων δὲ οἱ οἱ μεσημερινοὶ τὴν ποίη-  
 τήν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀφῆλθαι λόγους τὸν Ἀρ-  
 βῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Jones, A. *Manit for Love, A Total Approach*

\* Before M-Q rolling A, have on a separate after  
A-ones (extended reads A<sub>1</sub>...A<sub>n</sub>). For this flattest reads  
A<sub>1</sub>...A<sub>n</sub> on the M-Q x 1/16

<sup>1</sup> *Agave americana* (Cyperaceae), last August 1900.

## GEOGRAPHY, 100 14

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> I'm just into the water.

<sup>3</sup> On red water.



Αἰθίοπας· τῇ γὰρ Θηβαΐδι καὶ οὗτοι πλησια-  
ζουσιν· ὅμως<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐργασίας αὐδὲ χρηματισμοῦ  
χαριν τούτων ὀνομαζομένων (οὐ πολὺ γὰρ ἦν  
τούτο), ἀλλὰ τοῦ μήκουσ τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ τοῦ  
ἐνδοξον· ἐνδοξον γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἐκταπίσαι, τοιοῦ-  
του δὲ καὶ τὸ

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω·  
(*Od.* 1. 3)

καὶ τὸ

ἥ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεὺς  
ἠγαγόμεην. (*Od.* 4. 81)

Ἡσίοδος δ' ἐν Καταλόγῳ φησὶ

καὶ κούρην Ἀράβοιο, τὸν Ἑρμῶν ἀκύκητα  
γείνατο καὶ Θρονίη, κούρη Βήλοιο ἄνακτος.

*fr.* 23 (45)

οὕτω δὲ καὶ Στρησίχορος λέγει. εἰκάζειν οὖν ἐστίν,  
ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτοι καὶ ἡ χώρα Ἀραβία ἤδη τότε  
ὠνομάζετο κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἥρωας τυχὸν ἴσως οὕτω.

35 Οἱ δὲ πλάττοντες Ἑρεμβους ἴδιον τι ἔθνος  
Αἰθιοπικὸν καὶ ἄλλο Κηφήρων καὶ τρίτοι Πυγ-  
μαίων καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἤττον ἂν πιστεύοιντο,  
πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἀξιοπύστῳ καὶ σύγχυσίν τινα ἐμφαί-  
νοντες τοῦ μυθικοῦ καὶ ἱστορικοῦ σχήματος.  
ὅμοιοι δ' εἰσὶ τούτοις καὶ οἱ Σιδοτίους ἐν τῇ κατὰ  
Πέρσας θαλάττῃ διηγούμενοι, ἣ ἄλλοθί που τοῦ  
ὠκεανοῦ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μενελάου πλάνην ἐξωκεα-  
νίζοντες· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φοινίκας. τῆς δ'  
ἀπιστίας αἷτιον οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐναντιοῦ-  
σθαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς λέγοντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὅμως, *Quia*, for *ὅμως*.

are near the territory of Thebes), however, they were mentioned not on account of their handicraft nor yet on account of the profit Menelaus made among them for that could in amount to none) but on account of the length of his sojourn among them and the fame of having visited them, for it was a famous thing to have travelled so far abroad. This is the meaning of "Many were the men whose towns he saw and whose minds he learnt" and of "Yes, and a very many woes and wanderings I endured I brought my sea-labours home in ships." Placed in his Catalogue beside of "the daughter of Anaxus, the son of glorious Hermaon" and of Phronia the daughter of king Helius. And Strabo says the same thing. Therefore, we may conjecture that at the time of Heracles and Stenobolus the country was already called Anaxia from this Anaxus, although it may be that it was not yet so called in the times of the heroes.

35 Those scholars who invent the explanation that the Frembians are some nation or tribe, or again, a tribe of Celtic race, or that they are a tribe of Ligurians or a host of other tribes are not deserving of credence, since in addition to the incredulity of their theories they betray a tendency to confound myth and history. Like them are the writers who tell of Sidonians on the Persian Gulf, or others who are else on Oceanus, and who place the wanderings of Menelaus, and likewise place the Phoenicians, not in Oceanus. And not the least reason for not believing them is the fact that they contradict one another. For some of them say that

C 43 τοὺς Σιδονίους τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀποείκουσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑκακῇ φασί, προστιθέντες καὶ διὰ τὴν Φοινίκην ἐκαλούντο, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θηλαττα ἐρυθρὰ αἱ δ' ἐκείνους τούτων. εἰσι δ' οἱ καὶ τὴν Λιβύην πᾶσαν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς Φοινικὴν μετεγούσι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομείδα<sup>1</sup> ἐν Ἰουῇ συμβῆναί φασιν· οὐ ἔηπον κατ' ἀγνοίαν τοπικὸν καὶ τούτων λεγομένων ἀλλ' ἐν μυθοὶ μᾶλλον σχηματὶ καθάπερ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ προφέρει ὁ Ἀπολλοδώρος, οὐδ' ὅν τρυπὸν παρατιθῆσαι τοῖς Ὀμηροῦ ταῦτα εἰδὼς· τὰ μὲν γὰρ Ὀμηροῦ, τὰ περὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀὔγουπον, παρατιθῆσαι ἀγνοίαν αἰτιώμενος, ὥς λεγὲν μὲν τὰ ὄντα βουλομένου, μὴ λεγοντος δὲ τὰ ὄντα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐτα κατ' ἀγνοίαν. Ἡσιόδου δ' οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτιάσασατο ἀγνοίαν, Ἠμενέως λεγοντος καὶ Μακράκεφαλους καὶ Πυγμαίους οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ Ὀμηροῦ ταῦτα μυθευντος, ὅν εἰσι καὶ οὗτοι αἱ Πυγμαῖαι, οὐδ' Ἀλεμᾶνος Στεγανοποδᾶς ἱστοροῦντος, οὐδ' Ἀισχύλου Κισσοκεφαλούς καὶ Στερενιφθαλμοῦ καὶ Μονομματοῦ, ὅπου γε οὐδὲ τοῖς περὶ σὺν γαγκύουσιν ἐν ἱστορίαις σχηματὶ προσεχομένῳ περὶ πολλῶν, εἴαν μὴ ἐφομολογῶνται τῇ μυθογραφίᾳ. φαίνεται γὰρ εὖτε, ὅτι μυθοὺς παραπλεουσιν ἱκόντες, οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> εἰδ', Corais, for εἰδ', Meineke following.

<sup>1</sup> Phoen means "red."

<sup>2</sup> For example, by Sophocles or Euripides.

<sup>3</sup> These quotations are from works now lost, though Aeschylus refers to certain one-eyed men in *Prometheus bound*.

even the Sclavians who are our neighbours are cousins to the Sclavians on Oceanus, and they accordingly add the reason why our Sclavians are called Phoenicians, namely because the colour of the Persian Sea is "red", but others hold that the Sclavians on Oceanus are cousins from our Phoenicia. And there are some who transfer Homer to Asia to our Phoenicia, and who say that the adventure of Andromeda took place in Joppa, though the story is surely not told in ignorance of its real setting, but rather in the guise of myth, and the same is true of the stories that Apollonius comes from Hircania and the other parts which even recurring in many ways connect them with the stories in Homer. For he compares what Homer says about the Pontus and Egypt and charges him with ignorance on the ground that, though he wanted to tell the truth, he did not do so but in his ignorance stated as true what was not true. Yet no one could charge Homer with ignorance when he speaks of "men who are halting," of "long-eared men" and of "Pygmies", no more should one charge Homer with ignorance when he tells these unusual stories of his one of which is that of these very Pygmies, nor Aeschylus when he tells about "wretched men" nor Aeschylus when he speaks of "ugly-headed men," or of "men with eyes in their breasts," or of "one-eyed men", none of all events we do not pay much attention to prose writers, either when they compose stories on many subjects in the guise of history even if they do not expressly acknowledge that they are dealing in myth. For it is so evident that they are weaving in myths intentionally, not through

ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ὄντων, ἀλλὰ πλάσει τῶν ἀδυνατίων τερατείας καὶ τέρψεως χάριν· δοκοῦσι δὲ κατ' ἀγνοίαν, ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ πιθανῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα μυθεύουσι περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων καὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐξομολογεῖται φήσας ὅτι καὶ μύθους ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐρεῖ, κρεῖττον ἢ ὥς Ἰπρόδοτος καὶ Κτησίας καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ συγγράψαντες.

36. Περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παθῶν εἴρηται μὲν ἐν μύθου σχήματι· καὶ γὰρ τούτου στοχάζεσθαι δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀμπώτεων καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων ἡ Χάρυβδις αὐτῇ μεμύθευται, οὐδ' αὐτῇ παντάπασιν Ὀμήρου πλάσμα οὔσα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πορθμὸν διεσκευασμένη. εἰ δὲ δις τῆς παλιρροίας γινομένης καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐκεῖνος τρίς εἴρηκε,

τρίς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίσχιν ἐπ' ἡματι, τρίς δ' ἀναροιβδεῖ,  
(Οἰ. 12. 105)

λέγοιτ' ἂν καὶ οὕτως· οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἀγνοίαν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποληπτέον λέγεσθαι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τραγωδίας χάριν καὶ φόβου, ὅν ἡ Κίρκη πολὺν τοῖς λόγοις προστίθῃσιν ἀποτροπῆς χάριν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος παραμύγεσθαι. ἐν αὐτοῖς γοῦν τοῖς ἔπεσι τούτοις εἴρηκε μὲν οὕτως ἡ Κίρκη·

τρίς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίσχιν ἐπ' ἡματι, τρίς δ' ἀναροιβδεῖ

ignorance of the facts, but through an intentional increase of the impossible, to gratify the taste for the marvellous and the entertaining. But they give the impression of doing this through ignorance because it is preference and with an air of passion: they tell such tales about the sea-monster and the man-woman. Theopompus expressly acknowledges the practice when he says that he intends to narrate myths too true as if stories—a better way than that of Herodotus, Thucydides, Herodotus, and the authors of the Histories of Ionia.<sup>1</sup>

36 What Homer says about the behaviour of Oceanus is set forth in the guise of a myth, but too is a thing the poet must say so: for he borrowed the myth of Oceanus from the poets and few of the tales, though even Circe herself is not wholly an invention of Homer for she was dressed up by him in accordance with what had been told him about the sort of beast. And suppose that by the words, 'For thrice a day she spouts it forth and thrice a day she sucks it down,' Homer does affirm that the reflux tide comes in three times within the course of each day and night although it comes in but twice. We might be permitted to excuse him in this way: for we must not suppose that he said these words in ignorance of the facts but for the sake of the tragic effect and of the charm of fear upon which large plays largely in what she says to Odysseus in order to terrify him, and for that reason she mingled the false with the true. At any rate, in these very lines Luce has said: "For thrice a day she spouts it forth and thrice a day she sucks it

<sup>1</sup> Demetrius, Megasthenes, Orosius, Strabo and others. See 2. 1. 2.

δεινόν· μὴ σύ γε κεῖθι τύχοις, ὅτε ῥοιβδήσῃς·  
οὐ γάρ κεν ρύσαιτο σ' ὑπέκ κακοῦ οὐδ' ἔνο-  
σίχθων. (Od. 12. 105)

καὶ μὴν παρέτυχέ γε τῇ ἀναρροιβδήσει ὁ Ὀδυσ-  
σεὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀπώλετο, ὥς φησιν αὐτός·

C 44 ἡ μὲν ἀνερροιβδήσε θαλάσσης ἄλμυρόν ὕδωρ·  
αὐτὰρ ἐγώ, ποτι μακρὸν ἐρινεὺν ὕψος· ἀερθεῖς,  
τῷ προσφύς ἐχόμενῃ ὡς νυκτερί (Od. 12. 431)

εἴτα περιμείνας τὰ ναυίγια καὶ λαβόμενος πάλιν  
αὐτῶν σώζεται, ὥστ' ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἑρμῆς ὡς οὖν  
τοῦτο, κίκεῖνο τὸ "τρὶς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνέησιν ἐπ'  
ἡματι" ἀντὶ τοῦ δις, ἅμα καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῆς  
τοιαύτης συνήθους πῦσιν οὐσης, τρισμακαρίους  
καὶ τρισαθλίους λεγόντων καὶ ὁ ποιητής·

τρισμάκαρες Δαναοί, (Od. 5. 306)

καὶ ἀσπασίῃ τρίλλιστος, (Il. 8. 488)

καὶ τριχθία τε καὶ τετραχθία. (Il. 3. 383)

ἴσως δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας τεκμηριαί, ὅτι  
ὑπαινίττεται πῶς το ἀληθές μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐφαρ-  
μοττεῖ<sup>1</sup> τῷ δις γενέσθαι τὴν παλέρροισαν κατὰ τὸν  
συνάμφω χρόνον, τὸν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἢ τῷ  
τρὶς, τὸ<sup>2</sup> τοσοῦτον χρόνον μέναι τὰ ναυίγια  
ὑποβρύχια, ὅψι δὲ ἀναβληθῆναι ποθοῦντι καὶ  
συνεχῶς προσισχομένη τοῖς κλαδοῖς·

νωλεμέως δ' ἐχόμενῃ, ὅψι ἐξομέσειεν ὀπίσσω  
ἰστὸν καὶ τρόπιον αὐτίς, ἐλδομένῃ δέ μοι ἦλθον<sup>3</sup>  
ὅψι· ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δορπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορήθευ ἀνέστη,

<sup>1</sup> ἐφαρμόττει, Corais following Kato, for ἐφαρμόττει.

down a terrible sight! Never meant thou be there when she sucks the water, for some might save thee from this woe, but even the Earth-shaker Yet Oceanus later on was present when she "sucked it down" and he did not perish as he himself says: "Now she had sucked down the salt sea-water but I was swung up as high to a tall fig-tree as eke I durst use a hut. Then waiting for the pieces of wreckage and having heard of them again as saved, I sat on them and as I lived." And as she lies in this statement so she lies in that other statement: "for three a day she spouts it for <sup>3</sup> instead of "twice a day," although it is true, at the same time, that this kind of hyperbole is familiar even to us—as for instance, when we say "I have come" as if three wretches. The poet himself says: "There said those Danaans and again: "Welcome, divine prize for and yet again: "I have seen into his pieces. Perhaps one might infer now from the time involved that Homer is, in a way, wrong at his truck, for the fact that the pieces of wreckage remained so long on the sea-bed and were so tardily cast up for Odysseus, was a warning for him and constantly clinging to the main of the tree better suits the assumption that the reflux tide came in twice, rather than three during the whole period, consisting of a day and a night. Nevertheless I say, as we say, "for she would vomit forth waste and reel again and late her came to my desire. At the hour when a man rises up from the assembly and goes to supper,

<sup>2</sup> ed before 1800-1810. Great words, including p. Maevig and p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> ed. 1800, 1810, for 1810.

<sup>4</sup> ed. 1810, for 1810.



κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικάζομένων αἰζηῶν,  
καὶ τότε δὴ μοι δοῦρα Λαρύβδος ἐξεφάνθη  
(Οιδ. 12. 437)

πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα χρόνου τινος ἔμφασιν ἀξιολογοῦ  
διδωσι, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐπιτείνειν,  
μὴ κοινῶς εἰπύοντα, ἥνκα ὁ δικαστὴς ἀνίσταται,  
ἀλλ' ἥνικα κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ, ὥστε βραδύναι  
πλέον τι. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ οὐ πιθανὴν ἂν ὑπέτεινε  
τῷ ναυαγῷ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν, εἰ, πρὶν ἀπασπασ-  
θῆναι πολὺ,<sup>1</sup> αὐτίκα εἰς τοῦπισω παλίουρου  
μετέπιπτεν.

37. Ἀπολλύδιωρος δὲ ἐπιτιμᾷ Καλλιμάχῳ,  
συνηγορῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἑρατοσθένη, διότι,  
καί περ γραμματικὸς ὢν, παρὰ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν  
ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐξωκεανισμὸν τῶν τόπων, περὶ  
οὓς τὴν πλάνην φριζει, Γαῦδον καὶ Κόρκυραν  
ὀνομάζει. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν μηδαμοῦ γέγονεν ἡ πλάνη,  
ἀλλ' ὅλον πλάσμα ἐστὶν Ὀμηροῦ τοῦτο, ὀρθὴ ἢ  
ἐπιτίμησις· ἢ, εἰ γέγονε μὲν, περὶ ἄλλους δὲ  
τόπους, ἔδει<sup>2</sup> λέγειν εὐθύς καὶ περὶ τινος,  
ἐπανορθούμενον ἅμα τὴν ἄγνοιαν. μήτε δε ὅλον  
πλάσματος εἶναι πιθανῶς λεγομένου, καθάπερ  
ἐπεδείκνυμεν, μήτ' ἄλλων τόπων κατὰ πιστὴν  
μείζω δεικνυμένων, ἀπολύοιτ' ἂν τῆς αἰτίας ὁ  
Καλλιμάχος.

<sup>1</sup> καί, Corais deletes, before αὐτίκα; Groskurd, Forbiger, following.    <sup>2</sup> εἶ, Corais, for εἰ.

<sup>1</sup> That is, three times a day.

the stories of many quarrels of the young men that passed the years at that hour the sailors came forth to see them on their return. And this gives the impression of a considerable lapse of time and perhaps even of a full year, for the poet promises the end to the evening, for he does not intend any general comment at all when the night comes, but he tells of quarrels of many quarters. Hence I had some doubts whether he meant to say that usual And another consideration the means of escape which he put forth he did not intend to discuss and not so long as I each time before I was carried far away by the tide he was immediately driven back by the reflux tide.<sup>1</sup>

¶7 Again when agreeing with Ptolemy and his successors, Cassius has been so thorough as to say that his names are not and Cassius as some of the wanderings of myriads of others of Homer's fudges as plan which is to transfer to the time the events in which he does as the wanderings as taking place. But if the war is to go near to a place as where and if this is what a fiction of Homer's. Then Apollonius seems to be just the like wanderings did take place but in other regions then Apollonius should have said in of the effect and that I have but in what regions they took place this at once correcting the general view of the wanderings. But since the story cannot with pleasure be called was by a fiction as I have shown above and since another point is pointed out that has a greater claim to our credence, Lucimachus may be absolved from concern.

<sup>1</sup> The war of the south of Sicily which Callimachus makes the job of Odysses.      11. 2. 92

C 49 38 Οὐδ' ὁ Σπήσιος δὲ Δημήτριος εὖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῶν ὑμᾶσι κατ' ἐν ὡς αἰτίαι ἐκείναι κατεστή, προς γὰρ ἡ εὐθὺς τὸν ἡ ζήτησις φιλοτιμωτέρως ἀντιλεγώ, εἰκοίτα ὅτι οἱ Ἄργοι οὗτοι πλεοντεῖς εἰς ψᾶσι τὸν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ομολογουμένων πλοῖν, ἐβρίσασθε τὰ νηὶ Ἰθάκας μητρος, ἡρα περὶ ἡ ζήτησις, ἀρχὴ φησι μὴδ' εἰδέναι τὴν αἰ ψᾶσι ὑπεύθυμιας τοῦ Ἰασσοῦ (Ὀμήρου, τοῦτο δ' οὐ μόνον τῆς ὑφ' Ὀμήρου λεγομένης μαχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα Λιπτοῖς μενοειδῆσαι καὶ ἄλλα χωρία, Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὑποσχίσθαι καὶ τῶν πλεοντεῖς κίσεων δια τὴν πικρὴν Ἰασσοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Εὐκλειῶν συγγενεῖς τοῦ τῆς τὴν κίσεων κατέχοντα, πᾶς οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο μὴ ἴδῃ, διότι συγγενεῖς ἢ ὁμοεθνεῖς ἢ γειτονεῖς, ἢ ὑπερσυνεχέως οὐκ αἰεὶ ὑπερ-χρᾶς ὁ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἰασσῶν (ὅτε οὐδαμῶς ἀλλοθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Μετταλίου ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι συνεβλήθη, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰωλκεῖον, τὸν δ' ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος Ἀχαιῶν ὑπερχρᾶς), τοῦτο δ' ἡγήσας, πῶς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ Ἰασσῶν, Μετταλῶ καὶ Ἰωλκεῖν ὑπερχρᾶς, ἐν μὲν τῇ πατρίδι μὴδῶμας καταλιπεῖν διαδοχῆς, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κατεστήσας κυρίου τὸν υἱὸν καὶ Πηλεῖαν μὲν ἴδῃ καὶ τὰς Πηλεΐδας καὶ τὴν Ἀλκίνοον, τὴν ἀριστὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς

Εὐκλειῶν, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τέκε δια γυναικῶν  
 Ἀλκίνοον, Πηλεῖας θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀριστῆ  
 (II. 2, 714)

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ. H. Kallenberg inserta, basorum ἐκ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνη C. καὶ ἐκείνη B. καὶ ἐκείνη, A. V. καὶ, ἀρρηκτικῶς

<sup>3</sup> τὸν ἀριστῆν, Kallenberg inserta.



τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα συμβάντων καὶ τὴν Ἀργῶ καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναυτας, τῶν μὲν ὁμολογούμενων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνέκδοτος ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὡκισανῇ τον παρ' Αἰήτου πλοῦν ἐπλαττεν, ἱρχήν μηδεμίαν ἐξ ιστορίας λαβὼν.

39 Ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντες λέγουσιν, ὃ τε<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλοῦς ὁ<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ἔχει πιθανὸν τι, τοῦ Ἡελίου σταλακτος, καὶ ἡ ἐπάνοδος καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ παραπληρησῶν ὁσηδὴ ἐπικρατεία καὶ νη Δία ἡ ἐπὶ πλεονγενηθεῖσα πλῆγη, καθάπερ καὶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ τῷ Μενελάῳ, ἐκ τῶν ἔτι νῦν δεικνυμένων καὶ πεπιστευμένων, ἔτι δὲ<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῆς Ἰμμηρου φωνῆς ἥ τε γὰρ Δία δέκνυνται περὶ Φᾶσιν πολλοί, καὶ ὁ Αἰήτης πεπίστευται βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Κολχίδος, καὶ ἴσθι τοῖς ἐκεῖ τοῦτ' ἐπιχωριον τοῦνομα. ἡ τε Μηδεία φαρμακίᾳ ἱστορεῖται, καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς ἐκεῖ χώρας ἐκ τῶν χρυσείων καὶ ἀργυρείων καὶ σιδηρείων καὶ χαλκείων<sup>4</sup> δικαίαν τινὰ ὑπαγορεύει προφασιν τῆς στρατείας, καθ' ἣν καὶ Φρίξος προτερον ἔστειλε τον πλοῦν τοῦτον καὶ ἔστω ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀμφοῖν στρατείας, τό τε Φρίξειον τὸ ἐν τοῖς μεθοριοῖς τῆς τε Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰθυρίας, καὶ τὰ Ἰασόνεια, ἃ πολλαχοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ τῶν πλησιοχωρῶν αὐταῖς τόπων δεικνυται, καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ

C 46 αὐταῖς τόπων δεικνυται, καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὃ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλοῦς, Coraia, for ἐν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ πλοῦς. Μαννίγ ἀγρόν ηγ.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ, H. K. erberg inserts, before ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν.

<sup>3</sup> ἔτι δὲ. Madv g, for ἐπὶ δὲ.

<sup>4</sup> σιδηρείων καὶ χαλκείων δικαίαν, A. Müller, for σιδηρείων καὶ χαλκείων, A. Vogel approving.

adventures of Jason and the Argo and the Argonauts had never heard of the things that are agreed upon by everybody, but invented the voyage away from Aeëtes' country and, placing on it events, without any foundation for it, as they are in history.<sup>1</sup>

39 For, as a result of the mythical voyage to Phasis agreed by Pindar the result, voyage and the description, however considerable, of events on the sailing voyage to her, contains an element of plausibility as it also contains the wanderings which retained Jason still at her, just as there is an element of plausibility in the wanderings of both Odysseus and Menelaus as evidenced by things still to this day pointed out and believed in, and by the words of Homer as well. For example, the city of Aea is still shown on the Phasis and Aea is believed to have ruled over Colchis and the name Aea is still used & current among the people of that region. Argos Media the sorceress is a historical person and the wealth of the regions about Colchis, which is derived from the mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper suggests a reasonable motive for the expedition. A motive which inspired Theseus also to undertake his voyage at an earlier date. Moreover, memories of both expeditions still exist (the sanctuary of Theseus) situated on the confines of Colchis and Ionia, and the sanctuaries of Jason, which are pointed out in many places in Armenia and Media and in the countries adjacent thereto. More than that, it is

<sup>1</sup> Aetna was a patronym of a dynasty of Colchian kings. See *Geography*, *Argo* 3 & 37.

<sup>2</sup> In the sanctuary of Doris (east of Onchius) see II. 2. 18.

Σαπώπην καὶ τὴν ταύτην<sup>1</sup> παραλίαν καὶ τὴν Προπονίδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀΐμου τόπων λέγεται πολλά τεκμήρια τῆς τε Ἰάσονος στρατείας καὶ τῆς Φρίξου τῆς δ' Ἰάσονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιβουζαντῶν Κολχῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Κρήτης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀδρίου, ὧν ἓνα καὶ ὁ Καλλιμαχος ἐπισημαίνεται, τότε μὲν

Αἰγλητὴν Ἀνάφην τε Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θήρην  
λέγων ἐν ἐλεγείῃ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ<sup>2</sup>

Ἄρχμενος, ὡς ἦρως ὦπ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου,  
αὐτίς δὲ ἀρχαίην ἐπλεον Αἰμονίην

τοτὲ δὲ περὶ τῶν Κολχῶν.

οἱ μὲν ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοῖο<sup>3</sup> πόρου σχίσσαντες ἐρετμὰ  
λῆα πυραξανθίης Ἀρμονίης ταφίον<sup>4</sup>

ἄστυρον ἐκτίσσαντο, τοκεν<sup>5</sup> ψυχιδῶν τις ἐπίσποι  
Γραυκός, ὑπάρ κενῶν γλωσσ' ὀνομήνη Πύλας

τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἀναπλευσαί φασι μέχρι  
πολλοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέχρι  
τοῦ Ἀδρίου· οἱ μὲν κατὰ ἀγνοίαν τῶν τόπων, οἱ  
δὲ καὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰστροῦ  
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα ἐκβάλλειν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν φασι  
τάλλα<sup>6</sup> δὲ οὐκ ἀπίθυνως οὐδ' ἀπίστως λέγοντες

40. Τοιαύταις δὲ τισὶν ἀφορμαῖς ὁ ποιητὴς  
χρησαμενος τὰ μὲν ὁμολογεῖ τοῖς ἱστορουμένοις,

<sup>1</sup> ταύτην, Meiske (Vind 4, for ταύτης, A. Vogel approving.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν ἐλεγείῃ ἧς ἡ ἀρχή, Meiske (Vind 5, inverte, aliter λέγει, Forieger C. L. = or, Tardieu, following

<sup>3</sup> Ἰλλυριοῖο, Meiske, for Ἰλλυριοῖο C. M. Her approving.

<sup>4</sup> ταφίον, Bentley for δφιας, Meiske following.

<sup>5</sup> τοκεν Cora = for το μὲν, Meiske following.

<sup>6</sup> τάλλα, Gieskard, for τά, Forieger approving.

and that there are many evidences of the expedition of Jason and of Perseus in the neighbourhood of Siope and the adjacent mainland and also about the Propontis and the Hellespont as far as the regions about Lemnos. And there are traces of the expedition of Jason, and of the adventures who pursued him as far as Lixte and Siope and the Adriatic Sea some of which Calpurnius notes when he says, "Argestes<sup>1</sup> and Atrophe hard by Laconian Thera<sup>2</sup>" in a place where nothing exists now. "At the outlet of the Propontis how the horses would seek from the kingdom of Aegaeus of Ilium to come to Ilion<sup>3</sup> in." In another place Calpurnius speaks about the Trojan war when "struck their cars to the ships of Ilium inside the tombstone of Ilion<sup>4</sup> Ilion<sup>5</sup> in, and there lay a little city which a Greek would call the city of the Troad, but which that language has passed down." Some say that Jason and his companions even sailed up the latter a considerable distance while others say that he ascended as far as the Adriatic Sea. The former make their statement in ignorance of these regions, whereas the latter make the assertion that a river late branches off from the great river and empties into the Adriatic Sea, but apart from this, what they say is neither probable nor incredible.

4. According to it is by stating himself of some such basis of fact that Homer tells his story, agreeing in some respects with matters of history,

<sup>1</sup> "The eudaimon one," epithet of Argos. To save the Argives he reclaimed the land of Atropia, now Naxos to run from the sea. The Argives erected a temple there to Athena Argesia." <sup>2</sup> *Argesia*. See § 2 2.

<sup>3</sup> Thessaly. See § 2 3. <sup>4</sup> See § 1 2. <sup>5</sup> Danube.



προσμυθευει δὲ τούτοις, ἔθος τι φυλάττων καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἴδιον ὁμολογεῖ μὲν, ὅταν τὸν<sup>1</sup> Αἰήτην ὀνομάξῃ, καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ τὴν Ἀργὼ λέγῃ, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Αἴαν<sup>2</sup> τὴν Αἰαίην πλάττῃ, καὶ τὸν Εὐνεων ἐν Αἴμνῳ καθιδρύῃ, καὶ ποιῇ τῷ Ἀχιλλεὶ φίλῃ τὴν νῆσον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Μῆδεϊαν τὴν Κίρκην φαρμακίδα ποιῇ

αὐτοκασιγνήτην ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο·

(Ocl. 10. 137)

προσμυθοποιεῖ δὲ τὸν ἑξωκεανισμὸν τὸν κατὰ τὴν πλανὴν συμβάλλοντα τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πλοῦ. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὑποκειμένων μὲν τούτων, οὗ λέγεται,

Ἀργὼ πασιμέλουσα,

(Ocl. 12. 70)

ὥς ἐν γνωρίμοις τόποις καὶ εὐανδροῦσι τῆς ναυστολίας γενομένης· εἰ δ', ὥσπερ ὁ Σκηψιὸς φησι παραλαβὼν μάρτυρα Μίμνερμον, ὃς ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ ποιήσας τὴν οἰκῶν τοῦ Αἰήτου πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐκτὸς πεμφθῆναι φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελίου τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ κομίσαι τὸ δέρος, οὗτ' ἂν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ δέρος ἐκείσε πομπὴ πιθανῶς λέγοιτο εἰς ἀγνωστας καὶ ἀφανεῖς τόπους οὕσα,<sup>3</sup> αὐθ' ὁ δι' ἐρημῶν καὶ ἀοικῶν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτον ἐκτετοπισμένων πλοῦς οὗτ' ἐνδοξος οὕτε πασιμέλων

C 47 (οὐδὲ κοτ' ἂν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς

Ἰήσων

ἐξ Αἴης, τελέσας ἀλγυνόεσσαν ὁδόν,

<sup>1</sup> τὸν, Corais inserts, before Αἰήτην.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν Αἴαν, Corais inserts before τὴν Αἰαίην (or τὸν Αἰήτην); Krieger, Forhiger, Meineke, following.

<sup>3</sup> οὕσα, B. Nieboe inserts, after τῶντων.

but adding to them an element of myth, thus adhering to a custom that is not only its own but one common to poets. He agrees with history when he uses the word of "Aetes" when he tells of Jason and the Argo, when with "Aea" instead he treats "Araea,"<sup>1</sup> which he estimates barren in Ierapion, when he makes the word of Ierapion related of Aetna, and when, as in Medea instead he makes the movement of the "own" meter to the word "Aetes." But he adds an element of myth when he transfers the word to wanderings that follow the voyage to Aetes' country. For if the facts themselves would be assumed, then the words, the type that is in all minds, are also properly used, inasmuch as the expedition is supposed to have taken place in well-known and famous regions. But the facts were as definite as of Scylla's mountains on the shore of Minicmus.

Minicmus places the home of Aetna in Orontes, or else the invited word in the ear, and offers that Jason was sent further by the sea and brought back the fleece, then in the first place, the expedition then in quest of the fleece would not seem possible since it was directed to unknown and obscure countries, and in the second place the voyage through regions desolate and uninhabited and in part the way from our part of the world would be neither easy nor "in all men's minds." Minicmus says "Never would Jason himself have brought back the great fleece from Aea, accomplishing his mind-racking journey and fulfilling the

<sup>1</sup> Od. 12. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1. 10. 12. 3. Homer's "Aetes" home of Cete, was an Aetnaic home, in "Aea," which he actually knew. Strabo alludes to the same thing in 1. 2. 10.

ἰβριστῇ Περίῃ τελέων χαλεπηρὲς ἀεθλον,  
οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῦ καλὸν ἴκοντο ῥόον  
καὶ ὑποβάς,

Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο  
ἀκτῖνες χρυσέω κείται ἐν θαλάμῳ  
'Οκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλός', ἔν' ὤχετο θεῖος Ἰήσων.)<sup>1</sup>

## III

1. Οὐδε τοῦτ' εὖ Ἰερατοσθένης, ὅτι ἀνδρῶν οὐκ  
ἀξίων μνήμης ἐπὶ πλεον μέμνηται, τὰ μὲν ἐλεγχων,  
τὰ δὲ πιστεύων καὶ μάρτυσι χρωμενος αὐτοῖς,  
οἷον Δαμάσῃ καὶ τοιοῦτοις ἄλλοις καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι  
λέγουσιν ἀληθές, οὐ μάρτυσι γὰρ ἐκείνοις χρηστέον  
περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐδε πιστευτέον διὰ τοῦτο· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ  
τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν μόνων τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ  
χρηστεον, οἳ πολλὰ μὲν εἰρήκασιν εὖ, πολλὰ δὲ  
καὶ παραλελοίπασιν ἢ οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἐξεῖπον, οὐδὲν  
δ' ἐψευσμένως. ὁ δὲ Δαμάσῃ χρωμενος μάρτυρι  
οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ καλοῦντος μάρτυρα τὸν Βερ-  
γαῖον ἢ τὸν Μεσσήνιον Εὐήμερον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους,  
οὓς αὐτὸς εἴρηκε διαβύλλων τὴν φλυαρίαν. καὶ  
τοῦτοι δ' ἓνα τῶν λήρων αὐτὸς λέγει, τὸν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> These lines are regarded as a marginal note by Kramer, Meineke, C. Müller.

<sup>1</sup> Since Antiphanes of Berga, in Thrace, was the typical romancer, "Bergaeian" became a proverbial epithet for writers of his type. It is not known whether Euhemerus was from Messene in Sicily, or from Messene in the Peloponnese. He made extensive journeys by order of Cassander, King of Macedonia (316-297 B.C.). In his work on "Sacred

difficult task for insolent Pelias, nor would they have come even to the fair stream of Oceanus", and further on he says: "To the city of Aëtes where the rays of the swift Sun lie in a chamber of gold beside the lips of Oceanus, whether glorious Jason went."

## III

1 ERATOSTHENES IS WRONG on this point too, that he makes mention at too great length of men who do not deserve mention, censuring them in some things, while in other things he believes them and uses them as authorities—for instance, Damastes and others of his type. For even if there is an element of truth in what they say, we should not on that account use them as authorities, or believe them, either, on the contrary, we should use in such a way only men of repute—men who have been right on many points, and who, though they have omitted many things, or treated them inadequately, have said nothing with false intent. But to use Damastes as an authority is no whit better than to cite as authorities the "Bergæan"—or rather the Messenian—Euaemeros<sup>1</sup> and the other writers whom Eratosthenes himself cites, in order to ridicule their absurdities. Eratosthenes himself tells us one of the absurd stories of Damastes, who assumes that the

History" he gave a fanciful account of his travels, and, on the basis of various inscriptions which he said he saw, attempted to rationalize the whole system of Greek mythology.

Ἀράβιον κόλπον λίμνην ὑπολαμβάνοντος εἶναι, Διοτιμον δὲ τὸν Στρομβιχου πρεσβείας Ἀθηναίων ἀφηγούμενον δια τοῦ Κυδνίου ἀναπλεύσαι ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὸν Λομασπην ποταμόν, ὅς παρὰ τὰ Σοῦσα ῥεῖ, καὶ ἀφικέσθαι τεσσαρακοσταίων εἰς Σοῦσα· ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διηγησασθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Διοτιμόν· εἰτα θαυμάζειν<sup>1</sup> εἰ τὸν Εὐφρατιν καὶ τὸν Ἰνγριν ἦν δυνατόν διακυψάντα τὸν Κυδνίον εἰς τὸν Χοασπην ἐκβαλεῖν

2 Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτ' ἄν τις ἐπισημίαναιτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν πυντων<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν πῶ γνῶριμα εἶναι φήσας<sup>3</sup> τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα ἱκρυβολουμένα, καὶ κελεύσας ἡμῖν μὴ ῥαδίως τοῖς τυχοῦσι πιστεύειν, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας διὰ μακρῶν ἀποδοῦναι, δι' ἧς οὐδεὶς<sup>4</sup> πιστευτεὸν μυθολογοῦντι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσε τοῖς τυχοῦσι· τοιγάρτοι τὸν μὲν Ἰσσηκὸν κόλπον ἐπίστευσεν ἐωθινωτάτον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττης σημείον, τοῦ κατὰ Διοσκουριάδα τὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πόντου μυχῷ σχεδὸν τι καὶ τρισχιλίοις σταδίοις ἐωθινωτερον ὄντος καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ σταδιασμοῦ οὐ φησὶ τοῦ τε Ἀδρίου καὶ τὰ ὑπερτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἰσχυατὰ διεξίωσιν οὐδενὸς ἀπέχεται μυθώδους· πεπίστευκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔξω στήλων Ἑρρακλείων πολλοῖς μυθώδεσι, Κερρην τε νῆσον καὶ ἄλλους τοποὺς

<sup>1</sup> On θαυμάζειν see H. Berger (*Die Trag. Frag. des Strab.*, p. 44, and C. Frick *Berliner Jahrbuch*, 1890, p. 352).

<sup>2</sup> πυντων, Ktāniet cun, -taton, for τύνων; C. Muller, Fortwager, Tardie following.

<sup>3</sup> φήσας, A. M. or for φρεῖ; A. Vogel approving.

<sup>4</sup> οὐδεὶς, A. M. for, for οὐδέ, and μυθολογοῦντι, for μὲν & λέγειν, for which Siebenkamm's also appears in the editions.

## GEOGRAPHY

Andrew Giff is a lake and boat doctor on the south end of the lake. He has worked at the head of an arm of the lake for many years. He is the only one who knows the changes in the lake and was the first to reach the bottom of the lake. He has a boat and a motor and a small cabin on the lake. He has a boat and a motor and a small cabin on the lake. He has a boat and a motor and a small cabin on the lake.

[illegible]

Ο 48 ὀνομάζων τοὺς μηδαμοῦ νυνὶ δεικνυμένους, περὶ  
 ὧν μνησθῆσόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον. εἰπὼν τε τοὺς  
 ἀρχαιοτάτους πλεῖν μὲν<sup>1</sup> κατὰ Ἀρσπείαν ἢ ἑμπο-  
 ρίαν, μὴ πελαγίζειν δέ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ γῆν, καθυπερ-  
 τὸν Ἰάσονα, ὅνπερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ  
 Μηδίας ἐκ τῶν Κολχῶν στρατεύσαι ἀφέντα τὰς  
 ναυς, ὕστερόν φησι τὸ παλαιὸν οὔτε τὸν Εὐξείνιον  
 θαρρεῖν τινα πλεῖν, οὔτε παρὰ Λιβυην καὶ Συρίαν  
 καὶ Κιλικίαν εἰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς παλαιὸς τοὺς πρὸ  
 τῆς ἡμετέρας λεγεί μνήμης, οὐδὲν ἔμοι μέλει περὶ  
 ἔκεινων λέγειν, οὔτ' εἰ ἔπλεον, οὔτ' εἰ μή· εἰ δέ  
 περὶ τῶν μνημονευομένων, οὐκ ἂν ἐκνήσαι τις  
 εἰπεῖν ὥς οἱ παλαιοὶ μακροτέρας ὁδοὺς φανούνται  
 καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν τελειώσαντες τῶν  
 ὕστερον, εἰ χρὴ προσεχέαι τοῖς λεγομένοις· οἷον  
 Διονυσος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰύσων, ὅτι δ'  
 αἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενοι, Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ  
 Μελέαρος καὶ Θησέας δὲ καὶ Πειρίθουν μακρὰν  
 εἰκὸς ἔστι στρατείας ὑπομαίναντας καταλιπεῖν  
 δοξάν περὶ ἑαυτῶν ὥς εἰς Ἄιδον καταβάντας, τοὺς  
 δὲ Διοσκούρους ἐπιμελητάς τῆς θαλάσσης λεχθῆ-  
 ναι καὶ σωτήρας τῶν πλεοντῶν. ἢ τε Μινω  
 θαλαττοκρατία θρυλεῖται καὶ ἡ Φοινίκων ναυτιλία,  
 οἳ καὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπῆλθον  
 καὶ πόλεις ἐκτίσαν κάκει καὶ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς  
 Λιβυῆς παραλίας μικρὸν τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον.  
 Λιβυαν δὲ καὶ Ἀντηνορα καὶ Ἐνετοὺς καὶ ἀπλῶς

<sup>1</sup> μιν, Bernhardt, Orosius, B. Niese, for καί, Forbiger, A. Vogel, approving.

nowhere pointed out to-day—matters about which I shall speak later on. And although Herodotus has said that the earliest Greeks made voyages for the sake of piracy or of commerce, i. e., indeed in the open sea, but along the coast—as Ad Japhn who acted as abandoned his ships and, starting from the Caucasus, penetrated as far as Armenia and Media—he says later on that in ancient times no one had the courage to sail on the Euxine sea, or along Libya Syria, or Persia. Now if by "the ancients" he means those who lived in the times of which we of to-day have no records then I am in no way concerned to argue about them as to whether they made voyages or not. But if he means men who are mentioned in history, then one would not hesitate to affirm that the ancients will be shown to have made longer journeys, both by land and by sea, than have men of a later time, if we are to heed what tradition tells us—for instance, Dionysus and Hercules, and Jason himself, and, again, Odysseus and Menelaus, whose stories are narrated by the poet. And again it is doubtless because Theseus and Pirithous had the hardihood to make such long journeys as they made that they left behind them the reputation of having gone down to Hades, and that the Dioscuri were called "guardians of the sea" and "saviours of sailors." Again, the maritime supremacy of Minos is far-famed, and so are the voyages of the Phoenicians, who, a short time after the Trojan War, explored the regions beyond the Pillars of Hercules and founded cities both there and in the central parts of the Libyan sea-board. As to Aeneas, Antenor, and the Euboeans, and, in a word,



μὲν δὲ πρὶν γινεῖν οἶδεν ἐξελλεπτουσιν (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς μεταλοις ἀσφαιζεται τὰ αὐτῶ μικρά, τῆς δὲ εὐκρινεῖς θεωρίας ἑτέρας καὶ ἑτέρας τινὰς ἀπεργάζονται, καὶ τὰς προσείχει αἰτίας ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ἔχουσι).

ὁ Μάσιος αὖ δὲ φησὶ ζήτησιν παρὰσχέει, πῶς ἐν δισχιλίαις καὶ τρισχιλίαις ἀπὸ θαλάττης σταδίοις κατὰ τὴν μεσοταμίαν ἑρῶται πολλαχοῦ κογχῶν καὶ ὀστράων καὶ χερσαίων πλῆθος καὶ λιμνοθυλάτται καθάπερ φησὶ περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀμμοῖνος καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὄντων τρισχιλίων σταδίων οὐτῶν πολλὰν γὰρ εἶναι χυρὴν ὀστράων, ἅλας τε καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ εὐκρινεῖσθαι πολλὰς, ἀναφυσήματα τε θαλάττης ἐκ ὑψοῦ ἀναβῆλλαι, πρὸς ᾧ καὶ ταιντῶν θαλάττης πλοίων δεκνυσθαι, ἃ ἔφασκεν ἦν τουτ' χυρῶν ἀναβῆλλαι, καὶ ἐπὶ στυλίων ἀνακίσθαι διὰ φῶς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντας Κίρκων ὡς θεωρῶν. ταῦτα ἔπειτα τὴν Στρωτῶντος ἐπαινεῖ δοξάν τοῦ φυσικοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ Ξανθοῦ τοῦ Λιόσι. τοῦ μὲν Ξανθοῦ λεγόντος ἐπὶ Ἀ, τὰ ἐρῶται γενέσθαι μέγαν αἰχμον, ὥστ' ἐλκυσθεῖς ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας καὶ φέρεται αὐτὸν τε ἰεῖν<sup>1</sup> πύλλαντῃ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν θαλάττην ἔχουσι τε κογχίλιωδεις<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὀστράκα<sup>3</sup> κτενέα καὶ χερσαίων τυττώματα καὶ λιμνοθυλάτται<sup>4</sup> ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ Μασσητοῖς καὶ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τῇ κάτω,

<sup>1</sup> ἐν αἰνῶ. A. Μῆλιν for ἐν αἰνῶ, and Cassiodorus ἐν αἰνῶ.

<sup>2</sup> διὰ του, Orosius, for διὰ του.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκ. Cassiodorus on the contrary, γὰρ φῶς, for οὐκ ἐκ, Orosius (indeterminately). Boetius also A. Vergei, ἀπὸ τῆς.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φυσικοῦ. the old reading of the manuscript on the authority of Boetius, γὰρ φῶς. for the ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φυσικοῦ of I. A. Kramer, Meisner, Müller Debever know for but admitting the old.



ὧν ἕνεκα πείθεσθαι τὰ πεδία ποτὲ θάλατταν  
 γενέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Στράτωνος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπο-  
 μένου τῆς αἰτιολογίας, ὅτι φησὶν οἶεσθαι τὸν  
 Βύξειον μὴ ἔχειν πρότερον τὸ κατὰ Βυζάντιον  
 στομα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς βιάσασθαι καὶ ἀνοῖξαι  
 τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλλοντας, εἰτ' ἐκπείσειν τὸ  
 ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν Προποντιδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον,  
 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ συμβῆναι καὶ περὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 θάλατταν· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸν κατὰ Στήλας  
 ἐκτραγῆναι πόρον, πληρωθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν  
 τῆς θαλάττης, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑκρυσιν ἀνακαλυφθῆναι  
 τὰ τεναγώδη πρότερον. φέρει δ' αἰτίαν, πρῶτον  
 μὲν ὅτι τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦδαφος  
 ἑτερόν ἐστιν, ὥπειθ' ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ταῖμα τι  
 ὕφαλος διατετακεν ἀπὸ τῆς Βύρώπης ἐπὶ τῇ  
 C 50 Λιβύῃ, ὥς ἂν μὴ μιᾶς οὐσῆς πρότερον τῆς τε  
 ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς ἔκτος. καὶ βραχύτατα μὲν εἶναι τὰ  
 περὶ τὸν Πόντον, τὸ δὲ Κρητικὸν καὶ Σικελικόν  
 καὶ Σαρδῶν πέλαγος σφοδρὰ βαθία. τῶν γὰρ  
 ποταμῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ῥεοντων ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἰλύος  
 πληροῦσθαι, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ μένειν βαθία. διὸ καὶ  
 γλυκυνιάτην εἶναι τὴν Ποντικὴν θάλατταν, τὰς τ'  
 ἐπύσεις γίνεσθαι εἰς οἷς ἐγκέκλειται τοποῦς τὰ  
 ἔδωφ. δοκεῖν δὲ καὶ χωσθῆναι τὸν Πόντον ὅλον  
 εἰς ὕστερον, ἂν μένωσι αἱ ἐπιρρύσεις τοιαῦται·  
 καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἤδη τεναγίζειν τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ  
 Πόντου, τὸν γε Σαλμυδησσὸν καὶ τὰ καλούμενα

<sup>1</sup> Western mss.

<sup>2</sup> See 7. 8. 1.

## GEOGRAPHY, I. 2 4

salt marsh and therefore was persuaded that these  
 places were once sea. Then Eschscholze presents the  
 opinion of Strabo who goes still further into the  
 question of causes because Strabo says he believes  
 the Persian has further south not have to retreat at  
 Bazar and that the rivers which surround the  
 Persian forced and opened a passage and then the  
 water was discharged into the Persian and the  
 Hellespont. The same thing Strabo has imagined  
 in the Mediterranean sea and from this cause the  
 passage at the Persian was broken through when the  
 sea was filled by the rivers and at the time of  
 the retreat of the water the waves the salt marshes  
 have covered with strong waters were left dry.  
 Strabo proposes as a cause of the fact that the bays  
 of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean are a different  
 level and assuming that at the Persian even at the  
 present day a chain of low ridges comes from  
 France to Spain and that the Mediterranean  
 and the Atlantic would not be the same level the  
 same argument. The sea level in the Persian region is  
 our sea are very calm whereas the Persian the  
 Persian and the Hellespont seas are very deep for  
 some the rivers that flow from the north and east  
 are very numerous and very large the coast lines are  
 being filled with mud and water the shores remain deep  
 and because air is the reason why the Persian is  
 sweetest and why its outlet takes place in the  
 direction of the inclination of its bed Strabo  
 further says it is his opinion that the whole Persian  
 has been built up at some future period if such  
 improvements continue for even now the regions on  
 the left side of the Persian are already covered  
 with strong waters, for instance, Samsun, Samsun, and

Στήθη ὑπὸ τῶν πεντηκῶν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ  
τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔρημον ταχὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος  
ἱερὸν προτερον ἐπὶ τῆς θαλυττης ὅν ἐκρυπτοί  
γενόμενης εὖν ἐν τῇ μεσσηγίᾳ καίσθαι εἰκάζει  
τὸ τὸ μαρτεῖον εἰλογώσας ἐπὶ τοσαύτων γενεσθαι  
ἐπιφανείας τε καὶ γνωρίμων ἐπὶ θαλυττῃ δὲ τον τε  
ἐπὶ πολὺ οὕτως ἐκτατισμον ὑπο τῆς θαλυττης  
οὐκ εὐλόγων ποιῆν τῇ εὖν οὖσαν ἐπιφανείαν καὶ  
διέξαι τὴν τε Λίγυπτον το πηλαυν θαλαττῃ  
ἐλίσσασθαι μέχρι τῶν ἑλλωπ τῶν περὶ το Πηλουσιον,  
καὶ τὸ Κ. σ. οὐ ὄρος καὶ τὴν Σι. Σικηλὰ λιμνην  
ἐπὶ γούν παιρῶν κατὰ τὴν Λίγυπτον τῆς αἰγυριδος  
ὄρουττομένης ὑψιμμοὺς καὶ ποταμολοίαις εὐαί-  
σκεσθαι τοὺς θ. ἄρου, ὡς ἂν τεθαλαττωμένης τῆς  
χωρας καὶ τοῦ τοποι παντός τοῦ περὶ το ἡμισιον  
καὶ τὰ ἱερα παλουμένα τεναγίζοντες, ὥστε  
συμπτειν τῇ τῆς Ἐκονθρας πολτῇ ἐκδοῦσης ἐν  
τῆς θαλυττης ἀνακαλυφθῆναι, μῖνας δὲ τῇ  
Σιοθικῇ λιμνῇ, εἴτ' ἐκτραγῆται καὶ ταύτην,  
ὥστε ἐλῶδη γενεσθαι. ὡς δ' αὖτως καὶ τῇ  
καλουμένης Μυριδος<sup>1</sup> λιμνῇ τοὺς αἰγυαλοὺς  
αἰγυαλοὺς<sup>2</sup> θαλαττης μᾶλλον ἢ ποταμοῦ προσει-  
κίσει. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπεκλυζισθῆναι ποτε πολὺ μέρος  
τῶν ἡπειρων ἐπὶ καιροὺς τινὰς καὶ πάλιν ἀνακα-  
λιπ-εσθαι δοιῇ τις ἂν ὡς δ' αὖτως καὶ τὸ τοῖς  
ἐδαφισιν ἀνωμαλον εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἀπασαν τὴν νῦν  
ὑψιλον, καθυπερ γὰρ νῆ Διο καὶ τὴν ἑξαλον,  
ἐν ᾗ οἰκοῦμεν, τοσαύτας<sup>3</sup> δεχομένην, ὅσας αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἢ, Οορῆα, for ἢ.

<sup>2</sup> καλτοῦται ἢ ὑψι. Οορῆα, for ἡμυριδος.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς γὰρ ἡ Οορῆα ἡμεῖς ἔα, ἄλλοι αἰγυαλοὺς, Μετῆκα ἡμυρι-  
δος C. V. ο. ἢ ὑψι ἡμυριδος.

τα, Μετῆκα ἡμυριδος, ὅσας τοσαύτας; A. Miller appronitig.

the land at the mouth of the river, which sailors call "the Branch" and the desert of northern Egypt, perhaps too the temple of Hermon was formerly on the sea, but is now situated inland because there has been an encroaching of the sea. Strabo conjectures that the ocean of Arctics with good reason became so distinguished and so well known as it is if it was situated in the sea, and that its present position so very far from the sea gives no reason for explanation of its present distinction and fame, and that in ancient times Egypt was covered to the sea as far as the Egyptian frontier. Mt. Casius and Lake Sebasteia at all events, even to-day when the sail boats in Egypt are dug up the excavations are found there, inland and found there, as though the country had been submerged beneath the sea and the whole region round Mt. Casius and the mountains there a how once been covered with ocean water, so that it connected with the Gulf of the Red Sea, and when the sea retired, these regions were left bare, except that the Lake Sebasteia remained, then the sea also broke through to the sea, and thus became a gulf. In the same way, Sebasteia and the branches of the so-called Lake Mæotis were nearly as extensive as beaches than river-banks. Now we may admit that a great part of the continents was once covered by water for certain periods and was then left bare again, and in the same way we may admit also that the whole surface of the earth has so emerged is uneven at the bottom of the sea, just as we might admit, of course, that the period the earth was under water in which we live, is subject to all the changes mentioned by

<sup>1</sup> See 1 & 2. <sup>2</sup> Birkbeck-Karun. See 17 & 18.

Ἐρατοσθένης εἰρηκε μεταβολάς· ὥστε πρὸς γε  
 τοῦ Ἐρατοῦ λόγον οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοι τις προσφέρειν  
 ἔσποτον

ὁ Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Στράβωνα λέγεται ἂν, ὅτι  
 πολλῶν αἰτίων ὄντων ἀφείρε ταῦτα τὰ μὴ ὄντα  
 αἰτίαται· πρώτην γὰρ αἰτίαν φησιν, ὅτι τῆς  
 ἐντος θαλάττης καὶ τῆς ἐκτος οὐ ταῖς· οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος  
 καὶ ὁ βυθὸς· πρὸς γὰρ το μετεωριζέσθαι ταύτην  
 καὶ ταπεινούσθαι καὶ ἐπικλύζειν τοποῦν τινας καὶ  
 ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐ τοῦτο ἐστὶν αἴτιον, τοῖ  
 ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἐδιδίχη τὰ μὲν ταπεινότερα εἶναι  
 τὰ δὲ ὑψηλότερα, ἄλλα τὸ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔδαφη ποτὲ  
 μὲν μετεωριζέσθαι, ποτὲ δ' αὖ ταπεινούσθαι καὶ  
 συνεξαίρειν ἢ συνεκδιδύμειν τὸ πέλαγος· ἐξαρθὴ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐπικλύσαι ἂν, ταπεινωθὲν δὲ ἀναδραμεῖ  
 ἂν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καταστασιν· εἰ γὰρ οὕτω,  
 δεήσει πλεονασμῷ τῆς θαλάττης αἰφνιδίως γενομένης  
 τὴν ἐπικλυσιν συμβῆαι, καθυπερ ἐν ταῖς πλημ-  
 μυρσίαις ἢ ταῖς ἀναβύσσει τῶν ποταμῶν, ποτὲ  
 μὲν ἐπεσεχθέντος ἐπικλύσειν, ποτὲ δ' αὖξηθέντος  
 τοῦ ὕδατος· ἀλλ' οὐθ' αἰ αὖξησεις ἀθροαὶ καὶ  
 αἰφνιδίαι οὐδαμῶς, οὐθ' αἰ πλημμυρίδες  
 τοσοῦτον ἐπιμακρύνουσι χρόνον, οὐδ' ἄτακτοι εἰσιν,  
 οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπικλύζουσι θαλάττας,  
 οὐδ' ὅπου ἐντυχῇ· λοιπὸν οὖν αἰτιασθαι τὸ ἔδαφος

<sup>1</sup> cf. Cramer inserts, before ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα; Metastasis fol-  
 lowing, O. M. for approximating

<sup>2</sup> cf. cf. Blotter, for cf. cf.

<sup>3</sup> Startet de o: as the ex inserted by Kramer before etc.,  
 Metastasis, C. Müller Forliger following Kramer

<sup>4</sup> in the eleventh century, on the by the type set in the  
 edition of Kramer and left uncorrected in the edition of  
 Metastasis <sup>5</sup> cf. Müller, for ἀναβύσσει

## GEOGRAPHY, 1 3 4-5

Erastosthenes himself, and therefore, so far as the argument of Kantius is concerned, one cannot bring against it any charge of absurdity.

5. Against Strabo however one might argue that, although there are many no cause of these changes, he overlooks them and suggests causes that do not exist for he says their primary cause is that the beds of the Mediterranean Sea and of the Atlantic Ocean are not on the same level and that their depth is not the same. But I think that the cause of the rising and the falling of the sea, of its inundation of certain tracts of country and of its subsequent retirement from them is not to be sought for in the varying axes of the beds of the sea is that some are lower and others higher but in the fact that the beds of the sea themselves sometimes rise and on the other hand sometimes sink and in the fact that the sea rises or recedes along with its beds for when the sea is lifted up, it is overflowed and when it is lowered it is subsided to its former level. Indeed, if what Strabo says is true then the water will necessarily follow every motion increase in the volume of the sea for instance at every high tide of the sea or when ever the rivers are at their fullest in the sea case the water having been brought in from other parts of the sea, in the other case the volume of water having been increased. But neither do the increases from the rivers come on all at the same time and suddenly and thus cause a swelling of the sea, nor do the rivers prevail long enough to do so they are not irregular either nor do they cause inundations either in the Mediterranean Sea or anywhere else. Therefore it remains for us to find the cause in the fluid of the sea, either that which under



ἢ τὸ τῇ θηλείττῃ ὑποκείμενον ἢ τὸ ἐπικλυζόμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ἰσχυρόν. πολὺ γὰρ εὐκρινέστερον καὶ μεταβολὰς θιγέτωρ διέξασθαι δυνάμενον τὸ ἐννεύρον καὶ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ παντὶ τῶν τοιούτων αἰτίον πλεον ἐνταῦθα ἄλλ' ὥς ἔφην, τῶν τοιούτων ἀπεργαστικόν ἐστι παρ' οἷς τὸ αἰετὰ τὰ ἰδιόφθι ποτε μὲν ἐξαινεύει ποτε δὲ ὑφίζηται λαμβάνει· οὐ τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶναι ὑψηλὰ τὰ δὲ ἵπτον· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο λαμβάνει, πομίζων ὑπερ' ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν σιμβάλλει, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλιόττης ἁπαντάν, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν μεταρῶν τυπῶν εἶναι τὴν ῥοήν. οἷδε γὰρ ἄν τοῦ κατὰ Βιζαντίου μὲν τὸ εὐαφὸς ἦν αἶμα λεγὼν ὑψηλότερον τοῦ τοῦ Ἰωζέκου ἢ το τῆς Πρυποντίδος καὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἡς πελαγούς ἡμᾶς καὶ αἰτίαν προστίθεις· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἑλνός τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν καταφερόμεναις πληροῦσθαι τὸν βυθόν καὶ βραχὺν γίνεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ῥοὴν εἰς τὰ ἑκτός· τὸν δ' αὐτὸν λεγόν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάττης σιμπάσας μεταφέρει πρὸς τὴν ἑκτός ὥς καὶ ταύτην μετεωροτέρου τοῦ εὐαφὸς ποιούσης τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τῇ Ἀτλαντικῇ πελάγει· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν πληροῦσαι, καὶ τὴν υποσυσθῆναι τῇ ἑλνός δέχεται τὴν ἀναλόγον· ἐχρὶν οὖν καὶ τὸν εἰς ῥοὴν ὁμοίον γίνεσθαι τῷ κατὰ Βιζαντίον τὸν κατὰ Στρίλας καὶ τὴν Κυλπην. ἄλλα τοῦτο μὲν εἰς εἰροῦσι γὰρ ἀέξει

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ δὲ Startzell τοῖντο, the reading of the MSS., against the cā tota of Corsicus and subsequent editors.

<sup>2</sup> The Rock of Gibraltar. See 2. 5. 5.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the current of the M. I. straiten should be toward the Atlantic just as that of the Kasos is toward

## GEOGRAPHY, 995

[illegible]

τοῦτο συμβαίνειν, περισπᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμπώ-  
τεων καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.

6. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πυνθαινομαι, τί ἐκώλυε, πρὶν  
ἀνεφγέσθαι τὸ στόμα τὸ κατὰ Βυζάντιον, ταπεινό-  
τερον ὢν τὸ τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἑδάφος τοῦ τῆς Προ-  
C 52 ποντίδος καὶ τῆς ἐξῆς θαλυττης πληρωθῆναι  
ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν, εἴτε θάλατταν οὖσαν καὶ  
πρότερον εἴτε λίμνην μείζω τῆς Μαιώτιδος, εἰ  
γὰρ τοῦτο συγχωροῖτο, προσεργήσομαι καὶ τοῦτο  
ἄρά γε ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ  
τῆς Προποντίδος οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν ὥστε, μέχρι  
μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἦν, μὴ βιάζεσθαι πρὸς ἔκρυσιν διὰ  
τὴν ἐξ ἰσῆς ἀντέρεισιν καὶ θλίψιν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
ὑπερεπόλασεν ἡ ἐντός, βιάσασθαι καὶ ἀπεράσαι  
τὸ πλεονάζον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενέσθαι σύρρουν τὸ  
ἔξω, πέλαγος τῇ ἐντός, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
ἐκείνῳ λαβεῖν, εἴτε θαλαττίῳ εἴτε λιμναίῳ μὲν  
πρότερον ὄντι, θαλαττίῳ δὲ ὕστερον, διὰ τὴν μίξιν  
καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο δώσουσιν,  
ἡ μὲν ἔκρυσις οὐκ ἂν κωλύοιτο ἡ νῦν, οὐκ ἀπὸ  
ὑπερτέρου δὲ ἐδάφους οὐδὲ ἐπικλινούς, ὅπερ ἡξίου  
Στράτων.

7. Ταῦτα δὲ δεῖ<sup>1</sup> μεταφέρειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὅλην  
τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν καὶ τὴν ἐκτός, μὴ ἐν τοῖς  
ἐδάφεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπικλίσεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν αἰτίαν  
τοῦ ἔκρου τιθεμένους, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς· ἐπεὶ

<sup>1</sup> δεῖ, Coraia inserts; Groenard, Meineke, Forbiger, Dübner, Müller, following; A. Vogel, L. Kayser, approving.

will say that the same thing does occur here, but that the inflow is lost in the ebb and flow of the tides and the changes in the sea.

6. But what is that means that supposing the bed of the Bay of Bengal were that level (the Pongotia and of the sea next after the Pongotia before the sinking of the coast at Pongotia) what was there to prevent the Bay of Bengal being filled up by the rivers whether it was previously a sea or more or a sea greater than the Bay of Bengal? If that point be conceded then I am going to show that the question has to be that the water level is higher in the Bay of Bengal and the Pongotia were such that so long as they remained the same, there could be no streaming for as far as the reason that resistance and pressure were equal but, as soon as the river was removed a higher level of a stream and the larger its surface water? And is not this the reason why the outer sea became confluent with the inner sea and why it assumed the same level as the inner sea, regardless of whether the latter was originally a sea or more or a sea, the outer sea assumed the level of its mingling with the inner sea and prevailing over it? If it is found to be greater as well as the first, the outflow that now takes place would go on just the same but it would not be away from a higher sea-bed, or from a sinking one, as it is now considered.

7. Now we must apply these principles to the whole of the Indian Ocean Sea and to the Atlantic Ocean, finding the cause of the outflow not in their beds nor in the sinking of their beds, but in the rivers. For according to Strabo and

1. Plinius has assumed (3 & preceding) that the bed was higher.

[illegible]<sup>1</sup> *duorum, forbigit astra.*

\* rev. Forties insects; improving on Oswald's design.

<sup>6</sup> vd, Corais for s/s: Gunkard, Metasha, Portugal, follow-  
ing C. M. M. approving.

## GEOGRAPHY, : 37

Estimates, it is not improbable that our whole Mediterranean Sea (even growing that in former times it was a lake) were founded on the rivers overflooded and poured its waters out through the narrows at the Pillars as over a waterfall, and that the Atlantic Ocean swum ever more and more was finally made co-extensive of it, and united with an one sea-level. And just as the Mediterranean basin was turned into a sea, so was the Atlantic process<sup>1</sup> reversed. It is very strange that the science of how or to what the sea is raised, by the rivers as can be done, is a thing never occurred the sea was no more. But the current through the straits is accounted for by another principle and is not due to the fact that the great current down the river sets up the deep of the sea. For the silt of it occurs only at the very mouths of the rivers as to exemplify the normal Bosphorus at the mouth of the river the Syrian desert and the Arabian where under the great straits a mountain range is raised and at the mouth of the Pillars the sea is contained within a narrow low lying and soft and at the mouth of the Tiber and the Nile the whole of the river, the plain of the Amazon, and the mouth of the Nile. The same is true of the other rivers also for they all unite the Nile in that they keep conveying the change just in front of them into and some to a greater and others to a less extent to a less extent than that is not being down much mud but to a greater extent those that flow for a great distance. The rivers as a whole and have many rivers as tributaries. So the

<sup>1</sup> On page 144 Strabo has referred to Strabo as "the physician."

ὁ Πύραμος ὁ τῇ Κιλικίᾳ πολὺ μέρος προσθείς, ἐφ'  
οὐ καὶ λογίον ἐκπέπτωκέ τι τοιοῦτον·

Ο 53 Ἰσσεταὶ ἑσσομένοις, ὅτε Πύραμος ἀργυροδυτῆς<sup>1</sup>  
ἥϊονα προχῶν<sup>2</sup> ἱερὴν ἐς Κύπρον ἵκηται.

ἐκ μέσων γὰρ τῶν τῆς Καταονίας πεδίων ἐνεχθεὶς  
πλωτὸς καὶ διεκπαισάμενος διὰ τῶν τοῦ Ταύρου  
στενῶν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸν πρὸ  
ταυτῆς τε καὶ τῆς Κύπρου πορον.

8. Αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ μὴ φθάνειν τὴν χοῦν εἰς τὸ  
πέλαγος προιοῦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν κατα-  
φερομένην τὸ τὴν θάλατταν ἀνακοπτειν αὐτὴν  
εἰς τοῦπισσιν, παλιρροῦσαν φύσει. ἔοικε γὰρ τοῖς  
ζῳοῖς, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα συνεχῶς ἀναπνεῖ τε  
καὶ ἐκπνεῖ, τὸν αὐτὸν τροπὸν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς  
τε καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὴν συνεχῶς παλινδρομικὴν τινα  
κινουμένην κίνησιν. δῆλον<sup>3</sup> δὲ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ  
ἑστῶτι κατὰ τὴν κυμάτωσιν ἅμα γὰρ κλύζονται  
οἱ πόδες καὶ γυμνοῦνται καὶ πάλιν κλύζονται,  
καὶ τοῦτο συνεχῶς. τῷ δὲ κλυδῶνι καὶ κύμα  
ἐπιτρέχει, ὃ,<sup>4</sup> κἂν γαληνωτάτου βί, ἐπιφερόμενον  
ἔχει τινα βίαν πλείω, καὶ ὑπορρίπτει πᾶν τὸ  
ἀλλότρισον εἰς τὴν γῆν,

πολλὸν δὲ παρέξ ἄλλα φύκος ἔχουσιν. (Π. 9. 7)

μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀνέμῳ συμβαίνει τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἀργυροδύτης, Meiske, for ἀργυροδίνης; C. Müller, L. Kayser, approving. <sup>2</sup> προχῶν, Starrett, for προχέων.

<sup>3</sup> δῆλον. Casaubon, for ἔηλε, Siebenkorn, Corais, Meiske, Forbiger following, C. Müller, L. Kayser, approving.

<sup>4</sup> δ. Casaubon inserts, after ἐπιτρέχει, Grosekurd, Meiske, Forbiger, following, Corais, C. Müller, approving.

latter class belongs the Pyramus, which has added much land to Cilicia, and it is to this fact that the following oracle refers: "Men that are yet to be will experience this at the time when the Pyramus of the A. very educt shall set up its sacred sea beach and come to Cilicia." The Pyramus, meaning its course as a navigable stream from the midst of the pangs of Cilicia, and then breaking a passage for itself into Cilicia through the gorges of the Taurus Mountains empties into the strait that lies between Cilicia and Cyprus.

§ Now the reason why the alluvium brought down by the rivers does not reach the open sea in its forward course is that the sea, which is naturally refluxent drives it back again, for the sea is like animated beings, and, just as they inhale and exhale their breath unremittingly, so in like manner the sea too is subject to a certain recurrent motion that proceeds from itself and returns to itself unremittingly. This is apparent to anyone who stands on the beach at the time when the waves break, for no sooner are one's feet washed than they are left bare by the waves, and then again they are washed and thus goes on unremittingly. And close upon the wash comes a wave also, which however gentle it may be possesses a certain increase of power as it rushes in and casts all foreign matter out upon the land "and casteth much tangle out along the sea." Now while this takes place to a greater extent when there is wind, yet it occurs

1 It has to prepare the way for itself gradually. The foregoing illustration concerning the action of the waves does not mean that the sea is a narrow stream, but that in our case the wave bottom of the sea—a possibility admitted by Strabo in §8.



καὶ ἐν νημερία καὶ ἐν ἀπογαίσις πνεύμασιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦττον ἐπὶ γῆν φέρεται τὸ κύμα ὑπερναντίως τῷ ἀνέμῳ, ὥς ἂν ἰδίαν τινα τῆς θαλάττης κίνησιν συγκινοῦμενον αὐτῇ. Τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ

ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας

κυρτὸν ἔδν κορυφούται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἄλος ἄχ-  
νην· (Il. 4. 425)

καὶ τὸ

ἥϊόνες βοόωσιν ἐρευγομένης αἰλὸς ἔξω.<sup>1</sup> (Il. 17. 265)

9. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔφοδος τοῦ κύματος ἔχει τινα βίαν, ὥστ' ἀπωθεῖσθαι τὸ ἀλλοτρίον. καὶ δὴ καὶ καθαρσίην τινα τῆς θαλάττης ταύτην φασί, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ ναυάγια εἰς γῆν ἐκκυμαίνεται. ἡ δ' ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἔχει τοσαύτην βίαν, ὥστε νεκρὸν ἢ ξύλον ἢ τὸ κορυφώτατον, φελλόν, ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος εἰς γῆν ἀναβληθέντα ἐκ τῶν πλησιον αὐτῆς τόπων εἰς τὸ πέλαγος προπεσεῖν υπολειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος.<sup>2</sup> οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν χεῖρ καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῇ τεθλωμένον ὕδωρ ἐκκυμαίνεσθαι συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῦ βάρους ἅμα συνεργοῦντος, ὥστε θῆτον κατενεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν κάτω, πρὶν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον πελάγος. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βία παύεται, μικρὸν προέλθοῦσα τοῦ στοματος. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐνδέ-

<sup>1</sup> The words *Τοιοῦτον* . . . αἰλὸς ἔξω are deleted by Meineke on the ground that they prove the contrary of what the writer describes, G. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> δ', Meineke, for ε'.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. have ὥστε νεκρὸν . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος εἰς γῆν ἀναβληθῆναι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησιον αὐτῆς τόπων εἰς τὸ πέλαγος προπεσεῖν υπολειφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος, which I have made an attempt at a reconstruction of the passage as it now stands.

both when there is a calm and when the winds blow from the land, for the wave is carried to the land none the less even against the wind, as though it were subject, along with the sea itself to the sea's own motion. This is what Homer means when he says "And goeth with arming crest about the promontories, and speweth the foaming brine afar," and "The shores cry aloud as the salt sea belches forth."

9 Accordingly, the onset of the wave has a power sufficient to expel foreign matter. They call this, in fact, a "purging" of the sea: a process by which dead bodies and bits of wreckage are cast out upon the land by the waves. But the ebb has not power sufficient to draw back into the deep sea a corpse, or a stick of wood, or even that lightest of substances, a cork (when once they have been cast by the wave upon the land) from the places on the shore that are near the sea, where they have been stranded by the waves. And as it comes about that both the silt and the water fouled by it are cast out by the waves, the weight of the silt cooperating with the wave, so that the silt is precipitated to the bottom near the land before it can be carried forward into the deep sea, in fact, even the force of the river ceases just a short distance beyond the mouth. So, then, it is possible

1 *Cathartes* commonly used of (1) the purification of the soul by sacrifice, or (2) the purging effect of tragedy upon the emotions, or (3) as a medical term for various bodily discharges.

by Kramer, Groshart, Meade, C. Müller, A. Müller, Maréchal, and A. Vogel. That by A. Vogel has been adopted and passed into the text above. But none is really trustworthy.

C 54 χεται προσχωσθῆναι τὸ πέλαγος πᾶν, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν ἀρξάμενον, ἂν συνεχεῖς ἔχῃ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπιρρυσεις. Τοῦτο δ' ἂν συμβαίῃ, κἂν τοῦ Σαρδονίου πελάγους βαθύτερον ὑποθώμεθα τὸν Πόντον, ὅπερ λέγεται τῶν ἀναμετρηθέντων βαθύτατον, χιλίων ποὺ ὀργυίων, ὥς Ποσειδώνιος φησι.

10. Τὴν μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην αἰτιολογίαν ἤττον ἂν τις ἀποδέξαίτο· μᾶλλον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν φανερωτέρων καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν τρόπων τινὰ ὀρωμένων ἀναπτέον τὸν λόγον. καὶ γὰρ κατακλυσμοὶ <sup>1</sup> καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ ἀναφυσθήματα καὶ ἀνοιδησεις <sup>2</sup> τῆς ὑφάλος γῆς μετεωρίζουσι καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, αἱ δὲ συνιζήσεις ταπεινοῦσιν αὐτήν. οὐ γὰρ μύδροι μὲν ἀναγεσθῆναι δυνανται καὶ μικραὶ νῆσοι, μεγάλαι δ' οὐ· οὐδὲ νῆσοι μὲν, ἤπειροι δ' αὖ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ συνιζήσεις καὶ μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι γένοιντ' ἂν, εἴπερ καὶ χάσματα καὶ καταπόσεις χωρίων καὶ κατοικιῶν, ὥς ἐπὶ Βούρας τε καὶ Βιζωνης καὶ ἄλλων πλειονων, ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ γενέσθαι φασί· καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἀπορρώγα τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰκάζοι τις ἂν, ἥ ἀναβληθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰτναίου πυρὸς ἐκ βυθοῦ συμμείναι ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰς Λιπαραίων νήσους καὶ Πιθηκούσας.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. H. points out that something has fallen out after or before κατακλυσμοί, because it is absurd to say κατακλυσμοὶ μετεωρίζουσι καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, and the statement contradicts the argument of the paragraph above.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνοιδησεις, Meineke, for ἀνωδεσεις, Forbiger, O. Müller, A. Müller, Toussier, following.

for the sea beginning at its beaches, to be entirely silted up, if it receives the inflow from the rivers mentioned previously. And this would be the result even if we assume that the Euxine Sea is deeper than the Sea of Marmora, which is said to be the deepest of all the seas that have been sounded a hundred or a thousand fathoms, as Pseudostrabo states.

10. However, we might be rather disinclined to accept such an explanation and so it is necessary for me to bring my discussion into closer connection with things that are more apparent to the senses and that, so to speak, are seen every day. Now dangers, as we have seen, are caused by upheavals of the bed of the sea and earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and upheavals of the submarine ground raise the sea, whereas the settling of the bed of the sea lowers the sea. For it cannot be that burning masses may be raised aloft, and small islands but not large islands, nor yet that islands may thus appear but not continents. And in a similar way settlements in the bed of the sea, both great ones and small, may also occur, if it be true, as people say, that yawning abysses and engulfments of districts and villages have been caused by earthquakes, as happened in the case of Bura and Burae and several other places, and as for Sicily one might conjecture that it is not so much a piece broken away from Italy as that it was cast up from the deeps by the fire of Aetna and remained there, and the same is true both of the Lipari Islands and the Paternoster.

<sup>1</sup> But compare § 10 where Strabo discusses this subject again and leaves a different impression.

11 Ὁ δ' οὕτως ἡδύς ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ μαθηματικὸς ὢν οὐδὲ τὴν Ἀρχιμήδους βεβαιοῖ δοξαν, ὅτι φησὶν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ὀχουμένων, παντὸς ἵγρου καθεστηκατος καὶ μένοντος τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν σφαιρικὴν εἶναι, σφαῖρας ταῦτ' ἐντρον ἐχούσης τῇ γῇ. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν δόξαν ἀποδέχονται πάντες οἱ μαθημάτων πως ἀψάμενοι. ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς θάλατταν, καίπερ μῶσαν οὔσαν, ὥς φησιν, οὐ νομίζει ὑπὸ μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν τετάχθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν<sup>1</sup> τοῖς σύντεγγυς τυποῖς. καὶ μάρτυρίς γε τῆς τοιαύτης ἀμαθίας ἀρχιτέκτονες ἄνδρες ποιεῖται, καίτοι<sup>2</sup> τῶν μαθηματικῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονικὴν μέρος τῆς μαθηματικῆς ἀποφηνάμενων. φησὶ γὰρ καὶ Δημήτριον διακόπτειν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τοῦ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἰσθμὸν πρὸς τὸ παρασχεῖν διήπλουν τοῖς στόλοις, κωλυθῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν ἀναμετρησάντων καὶ ἀπαγγειλάντων μετεωροτέραν τὴν ἐν τῷ Κορινθιακῷ κόλπῳ θάλατταν τῆς κατὰ Κεγχρεας εἶναι. ὥστε, εἰ διακόψει τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον, ἐπικλυσθῆναι ἂν ἅπαντα τὸν περὶ Αἴγιναν πόρον καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν<sup>3</sup> Αἴγιναν καὶ<sup>4</sup> τὰς πλησίον νήσους, καὶ μηδὲ τὸν διήπλουν ἂν γενέσθαι χρησιμον. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς εὐρί-

<sup>1</sup> ἐν, Corais inserts.

<sup>2</sup> καίτοι, Corais, for καὶ following B and C.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν, Corais inserts, before Αἴγιαν (Corais reads καὶ τὴν Αἴγιαν omitting αὐτὴν, as η εἰσαγωγὴ before Kramer).

<sup>4</sup> καὶ, before τὰς, Kramer prefers to delete; Meineke deletes; O. Müller approving.

11 But Eratosthenes is so simple that, although he is a mathematician, he will not even couch in the doctrine of Archimedes, who, in his treatise *On Floating Bodies* says that the surface of every liquid body at rest and in equilibrium is spherical, the sphere having the same centre as the earth!—a doctrine that is accepted by every one who has studied mathematics at all. And so, although Eratosthenes himself admits that the Mediterranean Sea is one continuous sea, yet he does not believe that it has been brought under a law of one continuous surface, even in places that are close together. And as nut or ice for such an ignorant opinion as this he summons engineers, although the mathematicians have declared that engineering is a branch of mathematics. For he says that Demetrius, too, attempted to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth in order to provide a passage for his fleet but was prevented by the engineers, after they had taken measurements and reported to him that the sea in the Corinthian Gulf was higher than at Cenchrææ, so that, if he should cut through the intervening land, the whole strait about Aegina, Aegina itself, and the neighbouring islands would be submerged, and the canal would not be useful, either. And Eratosthenes says that this is the reason why the narrow straits have

\* Chapter 1, Theorem 1. "Of every liquid body perfectly at rest the surface is spheroidal and has its same centre as the earth." Archimedes says "spherical" and not "spheroidal" as Strabo quotes him, but Archimedes used his term in the strict and not the geometrical sense, and the term is equivalent to "spherical" when it is applied to "a liquid body perfectly at rest." Compare the use of "spheroidal" by Strabo himself on page 42.

πανς ῥωδοεὺς εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν κατὰ Σικελίαν  
 πορθμόν, ὃν φησιν ὁμοιοπαθεῖν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν  
 ἑκαπὸν πλημμυρεῖν τε καὶ ἀμπώτεσι· δις<sup>1</sup> γάρ  
 μεταβάλλειν τὸν ῥοῦν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτος  
 καὶ<sup>2</sup> καθάπερ τὸν ἑκαπὸν δις μὲν πλημμυρεῖν,  
 C 55 δις δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν. τῇ μὲν οὖν πλημμυρίδι ὁμο-  
 λογεῖν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους εἰς τὸ  
 Σικελικὸν καταφερομενον ὡς ἂν ἐκ μετεωροτέρας  
 ἐπιφανείας, ὃν δὴ καὶ κατιόντα ὀνομιζεσθαι.  
 ὁμολογεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν  
 ἔρχεται τε καὶ παύεται καθ' ὃν αἱ πλημμυρίδες·  
 ἔρχεται μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς σελήνης  
 καὶ τὴν δύσιν, λήγει δ' ὅταν συναπτῇ τῇ μεσου-  
 ραυῇσι ἑκατέρᾳ, τῇ τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ τῇ ὑπὸ γῆς·  
 τῇ δὲ<sup>3</sup> ἀμπώτει τὸν ἐναντιον, ὃν<sup>4</sup> ἐξίοντα καλεῖ-  
 σθαι, ταῖς μεσουρανήσεσι τῆς σελήνης ἀμφοτέραις  
 συναρχόμενον,<sup>5</sup> καθάπερ αἱ ἀμπώτεις, ταῖς δὲ  
 συναψέσι ταῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ δυσεὶς  
 παυόμενον.

12 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν  
 ἀμπώτεων εἰρήκασιν ἱκανῶς Ποσειδωνιὸς τε καὶ  
 Ἀθηνοδώρος περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν πορθμῶν παλιρ-  
 ροίας, ἔχοντες καὶ αὐτῶν φυσικώτερον λόγον ἢ<sup>6</sup>  
 κατὰ τὴν νῦν ὑπόθεσιν, τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἀποχρη,  
 ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τροπὰς τοῦ ῥωδοεὺς εἶναι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> τε, Meineke deletis, before γάρ; O. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> καί, Corais inserts, before καθάπερ.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ, Corais, for τε, Grosekurd, following; O. Müller approving.

<sup>4</sup> ὃν, Corais inserts, ul following.

<sup>5</sup> συναρχόμενον, Madvig, for συναρχόμενος.

<sup>6</sup> ἢ, Corais inserts, before κατὰ and punctuates after ἐπεὶ, Meineke following O. Müller approving.

<sup>7</sup> εἰς, Corais, for εἰς, Meineke, O. Müller, approving.

strong currents, and in particular the strait off Sicily, which, he declares, behaves in a manner similar to the flow and the ebb of the ocean, for the current changes twice within the course of every day and night, and like the ocean, it floods twice a day and falls twice a day. Now corresponding to the flood-tide, he continues, is the current that runs down from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Sicilian Sea as though from a higher water-level—and indeed this is called the “descending” current—and this current corresponds to the flood-tides in that it begins and ends at the same time that they do, that is, it begins at the time of the rising and the setting of the moon, and it stops when the moon attains either meridian, namely, the meridian above the earth or that below the earth, on the other hand, corresponding to the ebb-tide is the return-current—and this is called the “ascending” current—which begins when the moon attains either meridian, just as the ebbs do, and stops when the moon attains the points of her rising and setting.

12 Now Poseidonius and Athenodorus have satisfactorily treated the question of the flow and ebb of the tides, but concerning the reflux currents of straits, which also involve a discussion that goes deeper into natural science than comports with the purpose of the present work, it is sufficient to say that neither does one principle account for the straits’ having currents, the principle by which



πορθμούς, ὃ γε κατ' εἶδος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ μὲν  
 Σικελικὸς δις ἐκύστης ἡμέρας μετέβαλλεν, ὡς  
 οὐτός φησιν, ὁ δὲ Χαλκιδικὸς ἐπτάκις, ὁ δὲ κατὰ  
 Βυζάντιον οὐδὲ μετέβαλλεν, ἀλλὰ διετέλει τὸν  
 ἔκρουεν μόνον ἔχων τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Παντικοῦ πελάγους  
 εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα, ὡς δὲ Ἱππαρχος ἱστορεῖ, καὶ  
 μονὰς ποτε ἐποιεῖτο· οὐτ' εἰ τρόπος εἰς εἷη, ταύτην  
 ἂν ἔχοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἣν φησιν ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης, ὅτι  
 ἡ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα θάλαττα ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἐπι-  
 φάνειαν ἔχει· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῦτο  
 γίνετο· ἂν, εἰ μὴ καταρύκτας ἔχουσιν ἔχοντες δὲ  
 οὐ παλιρροοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ ταπεινότερον ἀεὶ  
 φέρονται. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ κεκλι-  
 μένον εἶναι τὸ ρεῖμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ.  
 πελάγους δὲ τίς ἂν φαίη κεκλιμένην ἐπιφάνειαν,  
 καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς σφαιροποιουσας ὑποθίσεις  
 τὰ τέτταρα σωματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ στοιχειᾶ φαμεν.  
 ὥστ' οὐχ ὅτι παλιρροοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθεστῶ-  
 τας καὶ μένοντας, συρροίας μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕσης,  
 μὴ μᾶς δὲ ἐπιφανείας, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ὑψηλοτέρας,  
 τῆς δὲ ταπεινοτέρας.<sup>1</sup> οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ κατὰ  
 ἕξιν ἐσχημάτισται στερεὰ οὕσα, ὥστε καὶ κοι-  
 λάδας ἔχειν συμμενούσας καὶ ἀναστήματα, οὕτω  
 καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τῇ κατὰ τὸ βάρος ῥοπῇ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> The editors transfer *ἐστ' οὐχ* . . . *ταπεινοτέρας* to a posi-  
 tion before *πελάγους*. Jones follows both reading and order  
 of the MSS.

they are classified as straits for if that were the case the Strait of Sicily would not be changing its current twice a day as Empedocles says it does, but the strait of Cadiz seven times a day, and the strait at Brestonum makes no change at all but continues to have its outflow from the Pontus into the Propontis and, as Hipparchus reports, even stands at low water. Now if one principle should account for the currents would the cause be what Aristarchus assigns it to be, namely that the two seas on the sides of a strait have different levels. Indeed this would not be the case with the rivers either, except when they have catenacts. But since they have catenacts, they are not refluxent but run continuously toward the lower exes. And this too results on account of the fact that the stream and its surface are convex. But we would say that a sea is flat as in the case of the earth. And particularly in view of the hypothesis by which the four bodies which, of course, we also call the elements are made of fire. And in not only is a strait not refluxent but it is also not subject to standing water without any current at all, since although there is a confluence therein of two seas yet there is not more, one less than two of them, one higher, the other lower. The case of the water inlets is not the same as that of the earth, which being solid in character has taken shape according to its elevation and therefore it has mountains that keep their shape, and elevations as we see, but the water, through the mere

<sup>1</sup> A Pythagorean doctrine. "The bodies of the four elements," says Aristotle at *Physics* 2.1, are of different characters, excepted, we say, is common." *Metaphysics* 1.14.

δχησιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιεῖται, καὶ τοιαύτην λαμβάνει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, οἷαν ὁ Ἀρχιμήδης φησίν.

13. Ἐπιφέρει δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥηθεῖσιν, ὅτι δοκοῖη καὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος περικλύζεσθαι θαλάττῃ, καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον, ὅπου νῦν τὰ καλούμενα Γέρρα καθ' ἑκαστα,<sup>1</sup> τεναγίζειν συνάπτοντα τῇ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς κόλπῃ, συνελθουσης δὲ τῆς θαλαττῆς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὸ δὴ τεναγίζειν τὸν λεχθέντα τόπον συνάπτοντα τῇ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς κόλπῃ, ἀμφιβολόν ἐστίν· ἐπειδὴ τὸ συνάπτειν σημαίνει καὶ τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ τὸ ψαυεῖν, ὥστε, εἰ ὕδατα εἴη, σύρρουν εἶναι θάταρον θατέρω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν δέχομαι<sup>2</sup> τὸ συνεγγίζειν τὰ τεναγῇ τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ, ἕως ἀκμὴν ἐκέκλειστο τὰ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας στενά, ἐκραγόντων δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν γενέσθαι, ταπεινωθείσης τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάττης διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὰς Στήλας ἔκρυσιν. Ἰππαρχος δὲ ἐκδεξαμένος τὸ συνάπτειν ταῦτόν τῃ σύρρουν γενέσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλατταν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ διὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν, αἰτιᾶται τί δὴ ποτε οὐχὶ τῇ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας ἐκρύσει μεθισταμένη ἐκεῖσε ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλαττα συρμεθίστα καὶ τὴν σύρρουν αὐτῇ γενομένην τὴν

<sup>1</sup> τί, after ἑκαστα, Corais omits, so Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> καί, Corais deletes, after δέχομαι, A. M. 1 as approving.

<sup>3</sup> A little town in Egypt between Palusium and Mt. Casius, not the Arabian Gerra.

influence of gravity, rides upon the earth and assumes the sort of surface which Archimedes says it does.

12. Eratosthenes adds to what he has said about Ammon and Egypt his opinion that Mt. Casius was once washed by the sea, and also that all the region where the so-called Corinth<sup>1</sup> now is, was in every part covered with shallow water since it was connected with the gulf of the Red Sea, and that it became uncovered when the seas<sup>2</sup> came together. Now it is an equivocal to say that the region mentioned was covered with shallow water since it was connected with the gulf of the Red Sea for "to be connected with" means either "to come near to" or "to touch," so that, if we were referring to bodies of water the phrase would mean in the latter sense, that one body of water is confluent with another. My interpretation, however, is that the shallow waters "come near to" the Red Sea as long as the narrows at the Pillars of Hercules were still closed and that after the narrows had been broken through, the retirement of the shallow water took place because the level of the Mediterranean sea had been lowered by the outflow at the Pillars. But Hipparchus interpreting the phrase "to be connected with" to be the same thing as "to become confluent with," that is, that our Mediterranean Sea "is now confluent with" the Red Sea because of its being filled up with water, finds fault by asking why in the world it is that, at the time when our Mediterranean Sea because of the outflow of its waters at the Pillars, underwent its change in that direction, it did not also cause the Red Sea, which had become confluent

<sup>1</sup> The Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

Ἐρυθρὰς, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διέμεινεν ἐπιφανείᾳ, μὴ ταπεινουμένη· καὶ γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλατταν ἅπασαν σύρρουν εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἑσπερίαν καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν μίαν εἶναι. ταῦτο δ' εἰπὼν ἐπιφέρει το ἑπολουθόν, τὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ὕψος ἔχειν τὴν τε Ἰξω Στηλῶν θάλατταν καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καὶ ἐτι τὴν ταυτῇ γεγονυῖαν σύρρουν.

14 Ἄλλ' οὐτ' εἰρηκίμαι τοῦτό φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης, το σύρρουν γεγονυῖαι κατὰ τὴν πληρωσιν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ, ἁλλὰ συνεγῆσαι μόνον, οὐτ' ἐκολουθεῖν τῇ μὲ καὶ συνεχεῖ θαλάττῃ τὸ αὐτο ὕψος ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιφανείαν, ὥστερ οὐδε τὴν καθ' ἡμῖς, καὶ νῆ Δία τὴν κατὰ τὸ Λεγαίον καὶ τὴν περὶ Κεγχρεῖς, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἐπισημαίνεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν λογιῇ· εἰδὼς οὖν τὴν δοξαν αὐτοῦ τοιαυτὴν, ἰδὼς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν λογιέτω, καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαμβανέτω, ὥς ἄρα ὁ φησας μίαν εἶναι τὴν Ἰξω θάλατταν συμφῆσι καὶ ὅτι μα ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἡ ἐπιφανεία.

15. Ψευδῇ δ' εἶναι φήσας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς δελήεσις ἐπιγραφὴν Κυρηναίων θεωρεῖν αἰτίαν ἀποδιώσειν οὐ πιθανὴν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τῆς Κυρήνης κτισὶς ἐν χρόνοις φερεται μνημονομένησι, τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον οὐδεὶς μεμνηται ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ποτὲ ὑπαρξάν. τί

<sup>1</sup> That is, the gulfs of Corinth and Argolis, west and east, respect vely, of the isthmus of Corinth.

<sup>2</sup> That is, at the oracle of Asclepias. See page 181.

<sup>3</sup> The dolphin was to the Greeks the symbol of a seaport town. It would seem to us that the ancient Greeks took Cyrene not up the dolphin as a symbol of their sea town,

with it, to make the same change and why in the world the Red Sea continued at the same level instead of rising lowered with the Mediterranean? For says he even according to Pliny the level of the whole eastern sea is constant and consequently the western sea and the Red Sea form one sea after which this Hipparchus made an error, viz. that the sea enters the Pillars the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea, and that the Red Sea is constant and the Mediterranean Sea is not constant.

It must be observed that in this case he has not said that the sea is constant with the Red Sea but that at the time the Mediterranean Sea had become fixed, but adds that the Mediterranean Sea had come near to be lost and besides that it does not follow from the nature of our common sense that it has the same height and the same level as the Mediterranean Sea has not and does not receive its waters at the same rate and does not shoot out at the same rate. It is not possible for Pliny to make in his book any statement of the sea level being constant but of the opinion of Pliny is not at all given any argument of his own against Pliny's idea, and yet Pliny is not ashamed to say that Pliny is at the same time affirming also that the sea is everywhere the same.

Again when Hipparchus says that the impression of the sea level made by the sea is constant of course in fact he gives an extraordinary reason when we say that although the finding of the sea level is not a new thing, yet an ancient has recorded that the sea was ever situated on a sea.

and that it had no bearing on the question whether or not the level of the sea was the same on the whole.

τῶν αἰ μῆλου μὲν ἴσασσι, ἐὰ δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων,  
 εἴ ᾧ ἀναιζόμεν παραλίαν ποτε τὸν τοκευ γινέσθαι  
 αἰ το θαλάττης ἀντεθέσθαι καὶ ἡ επιτομή  
 ἔγαστο ὑπὸ ἑκρησάμε θωρήν συγχωρήσας δε  
 τη μεταρρίσσει τοῦ εὐφίου συμμετωρρίσσειας  
 καὶ τὴν θαλάτταν ἐπικλίσαι τοὺς μαχρὰ τοῦ  
 μαρτίου τοποῖν πλὴν γὰρ ἀπὸ θαλάττης  
 διέχοντες τῶν τοσεχίλων σταδίων οὐ συγχωροῖ  
 τοὺς μαχρὰ τοσεύτου μετωρρίσσειας, ὥστε καὶ τῆ  
 Φάρου ὄλην ἀκαυφύθηναι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆ  
 Λογυπτον, ὥστε οὐχ ἰσαυτοῦ ὄντοι τὰ τοσεύτου  
 ὕψους καὶ ταῖα ἐπικλίσαι. φησὶν δὲ εἴτερ  
 ἐπιπληρωτο ἐπὶ τοσεύτου ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς θαλάττα  
 πρὶν τὸ δεσπόμεν το κατὰ Στήλαι γινέσθαι, εἴ  
 ἔσαν κρησὶν ὁ Κρητοθέσσει, χρίσας καὶ τῆ  
 Λιβύην πᾶσαν καὶ τῆ Ἑρμῆς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας ἀκαυφύθηναι πρὸς τῶν τοσεύ  
 ἐπιφέρειν. διότι καὶ ὁ Πόντος τῇ Ἀλφειοῦ  
 ἀν ὑψηλῇ κατὰ τινὰς τοποῖν ἔτε δὲ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Πόντον τοποῖν σχίζόμενος καὶ  
 ρεόντας εἰς ἰσαυτὴν τὴν θαλάτταν εἰς τὴν Ῥαίαν  
 τῆς χερσον. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Πόντον  
 μόνον ὁ Ἰστρος τὰς ἀρχαὶς ἔχει ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρχαῖς  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀσπινοῦ ὄρου, οἷον εἰς ἰσαυτὴν  
 τὴν θαλάτταν ρεῖ, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Πόντον μόνον  
 σχίζεται το πρὸς αὐτοῖς μόνον τοῖς στομασι  
 αἰσιν δὲ τινὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῶν ὄντων  
 ταύτην πηγὴν, ὑπελαβόντες εἶναι τινὰ ὄρε  
 ῖνον τῇ Ἰστροῦ στοματιοῖν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς τὸν  
 Ἄδριαν ἀποσχισμένον αὐτοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ γένος

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Well, what if an historian does record the fact, and yet some of the evidence on which we base the conjecture that the region was once coast and the districts were a part of a common description was engraved by sacred monuments of Egypt? Again, although Herodotus has admitted that, along with the elevation of the bed of the sea, the sea level was elevated and that it inundated the country as far as the present distance of some five more than three thousand stadia from the sea, he does not mention the elevation of the sea to such a point that both the whole of Egypt and the greater part of Syria were covered, just as though an elevation of the sea were not sufficient to inundate those districts too. And again, after saying that before the breaking of the waters of the Mediterranean, the Mediterranean Sea was nearly dried to such an extent that Herodotus has stated the whole of Egypt and the greater part of Syria and Asia must first have been covered he adds, next, that the Pontus would then have been confluent with the Adriatic in some places, for he reasons that the latter, as he says, has been dried off from the Pontus region and thus flows into it with some account of the level of the land. But however does the latter rise in the Pontus region, or the currents it runs in the mountains as to the Adriatic, nor does it flow into both seas, but into the Pontus alone, and it branches off near the mouth of the Nile. However this mistake of Herodotus is shared with him by some of his predecessors who imagined that there was a river of the same name as the latter which branched off from it and emptied into the Adriatic, and that the tribe



Ιστρων,<sup>1</sup> δι' οὗ φέρεται, λαβεῖν τὴν προσήγορίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα ταύτῃ ποιήσασθαι τὸν ἐκ τῶν Κόλχων ἀνέπλουν.

16 Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀθαυμαστίαν τῶν τοιούτων μεταβολῶν, οἷας ἔφαμεν αἰτίας εἶναι τῶν ἐπικλύσεων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν, οἷα εἴρηται τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὰς Αἰολοῦ νήσους καὶ Λιβηκουσσας, ἄξιον παραθεῖναι καὶ ἄλλα πλείω τῶν ἐν ἑτέροις τόποις ὄντων ἢ γενομένων ὁμοίων ταύτοις. ὑβρὸς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδείγματα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τεθέντα παύσει τὴν ἐκπληξιν. νυνὶ δὲ τὸ ἄγθε<sup>2</sup> ταράττει τὴν αἰσθησιν καὶ δείκνυσιν ὑπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβαινόντων καὶ τοῦ βίου παντός, οἷον εἴ τις λέγοι τὰ<sup>3</sup> περὶ Θήρων καὶ Θηρασίαν νήσους ἰδρυμένας ἐν τῷ μεταξύ πορῶ Κρητὸς καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίας, ὣν ἡ Θηρα μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Κυρήνης, καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἀνὰ μέσον γὰρ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας ἐκπεσοῦσαι φλόγες ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέτταρας,<sup>4</sup> ὥστε πῦσαν ξεῖν καὶ φλέγεσθαι τὴν θύλατταν, ἀνεφύσησαν κατ' ὀλίγον ἐξαιρομένην ὥς ἂν ὀργανικῶς καὶ συντιθεμένην ἐκ μυδρῶν νήσων ἐπέχουσαν δωδεκα σταδίῳ τὴν περίμετρον.

<sup>1</sup> Ἰστρων, Mc oeko, for Ἰστρον.

<sup>2</sup> νυνὶ δὲ τὸ ἄγθε, Xylander, for νῦν εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀγθε; editors following.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ, Gieseler, for τὰς; Kramer, Korbiger, Meineke, following.

<sup>4</sup> τέτταρας, Meineke, for τέσσαρας.

of Ictians, through whose territory this later flow got their appellation from it, and that it was by this route that Jason made his return voyage from the land of the Colchians.

6. Now in order to promote the value of not marveling<sup>1</sup> at such changes as I have declared to be responsible for the ages and for such operations of nature as I have spoken of<sup>2</sup> in the case of Sicily, the marshes of Aegaeus and the Pithoneae, it is worth while to set forth still other instances of things similar thereto that exist, or else have taken place in other regions. For if a large number of such instances are placed in view they will put a stop to one's amazement. But as it is, the untamable thing disturbs the senses and shows one's ignorance of natural occurrences and of the conditions of life generally. For instance suppose one should tell the story of Ithra and Theria<sup>3</sup> and situated in the peninsula between Crete and Cyrenaea the first of which, Ithra, is the mother city of Cyrene, and of Egypt, and of many such places in Greece. For midway between Ithra and Theria fire broke forth from the sea and continued for four days so that the whole sea boiled and blazed and the fire cast up an island which was gradual & elevated as though by severs and consisted of burning masses— an island with a stretch of twenty stadia in circumference.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Herodotus, *Memories* 2, § 204. Also 1, 2 § 100, 2, 101, 2, 102, 2, 103 and 2, 104. The story (p. 101) was of great importance to the virtue of the young at Athens. It was a p. 101 per p. 101 is by being up to the point of the story. It was to be put to the student if possible and then to be used to encourage the student to do it.

<sup>2</sup> Page 100.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν παύλαν τοῦ πάθους ἐθάρρησαν  
 πρῶτοι Ῥοδῖοι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἐπιπροσ-  
 πλεύσαι τῇ τόπῃ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἀσφαλίου  
 58 ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 Φοινίκῃ φησὶ Ποσειδῶνιος γενομένου σεισμοῦ  
 καταποθῆναι πάλιν ἰδρυμένην ὑπὲρ Σιδόνος, καὶ  
 αὐτῆς δὲ Σιδόνος σχεδὸν τι τὰ δύο μέρη πεσεῖν,  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄβρωε, ὥστε μὴ πολὺν φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων  
 γενέσθαι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πύθος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν  
 ὅλην διέτεινε, μετρίως δὲ πᾶσι. διέβη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τινὰς νήσους τὰς τε Κυκλάδας καὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν,  
 ὥστε τῆς Ἀρεθουσιᾶς (ἴσται δ' ἐν Χαλκίδι κρήνη)  
 τὰς πηγὰς ἀποτυφλωθῆναι, συχναῖς δ' ἡμέραις  
 ὑστερον ἀναβλύσαι κατ' ἄλλο στομιον, μὴ  
 παύεσθαι δὲ σειομένην τὴν νῆσον κατὰ μέρος,  
 πρὶν ἢ χάσμα γῆς ανοιχθεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀηλάντῃ πεδίῳ  
 πηλοῦ διαπυροῖ ποταμὸν ἱξημεσε.

17 Παλλῶν δὲ συναγωγὰς ποιησαμένων  
 τοιαύτας, ἀρκέσει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκηψίου Δημητρίου  
 συνηγμένα οἰκειῶς παρατεθέντα. μνησθεὶς γὰρ  
 τῶν ἐπῶν τούτων,

κρουνὸν δ' Ἰκανον καλλιρρόον, ἔνθα τε πηγαὶ  
 δοῖαι ἀνάσσουνσι Σκαμνίδρου διηνέκτος.  
 ἢ μὲν γὰρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ,  
 ἢ δ' ἐτέρῃ θέρεϊ προρθεῖ εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ.

(Il. 23 147)

οὐκ ἔφ' θαυμάζειν, εἰ νῦν ἢ μὲν τοῦ ψυχροῦ  
 ὕδατος μένει πηγή, ἢ δὲ τοῦ θερμοῦ οὐχ ὁράται,  
 δεῖν γὰρ φησὶν αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν ἐκθλίψιν τοῦ

ference. After the cessation of the eruption, the Rhodians, at the time of their maritime supremacy, were first to venture upon the wreck and to erect on the island a temple in honour of Poseidon Agriosus.<sup>1</sup> And in 179 B.C. says Ptolemaeus, on the occasion of an earthquake a city situated above Sidon was swallowed up, and nearly ten thirds of Tyre itself was engulphed too, but not all at once, so that no considerable destruction of human life took place. The same operation of nature extended also over the whole of Syria, but with rather moderate force, and it also passed over to certain islands, both the Cyclades and Plovia, with the result that the fountains of Arethusa a spring in Calcia were stopped up, though after many days they gushed up at another mouth and the island did not cease from being shaken in some part or other until a chasm in the earth opened in the Ialantium Plain and vomited forth a river of fiery lava.

Though many writers have made collections of such instances, those collected by Diodorus of Sicily will suffice since they are appropriately stated. For example, he mentions these verses of Theophrastus: "And they came to the two far-famous springs where two fountains rise of deep eddying water under the one mouth with warm water, while the other in summer breath forth hot hail, and then he does not allow us to marvel if at the present time the spring of cold water is still there, whereas the one of hot water is no longer visible. For, says he, we must lay the cause to the shutting off of the hot

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, "Recesses" of travel by sea, and of the foundations of the earth.

θερμοῦ ὕδατος. μνησέσεται δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ἵκτο Δημοκλέους λεγομένων, σεισμοὺς τινας μεγάλους τοὺς μὲν πάλαι περὶ Λυδίας γενομένους καὶ Ἰωνίαν μέχρι τῆς Τρωϊδος ἱστοροῦντος. ὑφ' ὧν καὶ καίμαι κατεποθήσαν καὶ Σικυλος κατεστρέφη, κατὰ τὴν Τανταλον βασιλείαν. καὶ ἔξ ἑλῶν λιμναὶ ἐγένοντο, τὴν δὲ Τροίαν ἐπέκλυσε κῦμα ἢ δὲ Φυρὸς ἢ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἦν ποτε πελαγία, νῦν δὲ τροπὸν τινὰ χειρρυνήσας γέγονεν ὥς δ' οὕτως καὶ Τυρος καὶ Κλαζομεναὶ ἡμῶν δ' ἐπιδημούντων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, περὶ Πηλαύσιαν καὶ τὸ Κασίον ὄρος μετεωρισθῆναι τὸ πέλαγος ἐπέκλυσε τὴν γῆν καὶ κῆσον ἐποίησε τὸ ὄρος, ὥστε πλωτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν παρὰ τὸ Κασίον ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Φοινικὴν οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, οὐδ' εἴ ποτε διαστὰς ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἢ ἰζημα λαβὼν ὁ διείργων τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης ἀποφανεῖ πορθμὸν, καὶ σύρρουν ποιήσει τὴν ἔκτος θαλάτταν τῇ ἐντόῃ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στηλᾶς πορθμοῦ συνέβη. εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τινὰ καὶ ἐν ὑρχαῖς τῆς πραγματείας, ἃ δεῖ συμφερεῖν εἰς ἐν καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν κατασκευάζειν τῶν τε τῆς φύσεως ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἄλλως γινομένων μεταβολῶν.

18. Τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ νησιάζοντα πρότερον καὶ  
 59 πέραν τῆς ἀπτῆς κείμενον οὕτως φασιν ὀνομα-

<sup>1</sup> +ff. Cp. also, for εἴη, before ἐντόῃ, Meineke following; C. Müller approving.

water.<sup>1</sup> And he recalls on this point the words of Democles who records certain great earthquakes, some of which long ago took place about Lydia and Ionia as far north as the Troad and by their action not only were mountains raised up, but Mt. Sipylus was shattered in the reign of Tantalus. And lands arose from swamps, and a tidal wave submerged the Troad. Again the Egyptian Pharos was once an island of the sea, but now it has become, in a sense a peninsula, and the same is true of Tyre and Clazomenae. And when I was residing in Alexandria, in Egypt, the sea about Pelusium and Mt. Casius rose and flooded the country and made an island of the mountain so that the road by Mt. Casius into Ptolemais became navigable. Hence it is nothing to marvel at even if, at some time the isthmus should be parted asunder or else undergo a setting process. I mean the isthmus that separates the Egyptian sea from the Red Sea and thus disclose a strait and make the outer sea confluent with the inner,<sup>2</sup> just as happened in the case of the strait at the Pillars of Hercules. I have already said something about such things at the beginning of this treatise,<sup>3</sup> and all these instances in it needs contribute to one result, namely, to fix strong our belief in the works of nature and also in the changes that are being brought to pass by uter agencies.

18 And as for the Peiraeus, it was because the Peiraeus was formerly an island and lay 'over against' the mainland, they say, that it got the

<sup>1</sup> See 13.1.42 where Strabo again refers to these springs.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Suez Canal.

<sup>3</sup> L. 2. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Peron*.

σθῆναι· ὑπεναντίως δ' ἡ Λευκὰς Κορινθίων τὸν  
 ἰσθμὸν διακοψάντων νῆσος γέγονεν, ἀκτὴ προ-  
 τερον οὔσα· περὶ ταύτης γὰρ φασὶ λέγειν τὸν  
 Λαέρτην,

οἶος Νήρικον<sup>1</sup> εἶλον εὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,  
 ἀκτὴν ἠπειροῖα· (O<sup>d.</sup> 24. 377)

ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διακοπαὶ χειρότμητοι γεγύνασιν,  
 ἀλλὰ ἄρτι δὲ προσχώσεις ἢ γεφυρώσεις, καθάπερ  
 ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς Συρακούσαις νήσου νῦν μὲν γέφυρά  
 ἔστιν ἡ συνάπτουσα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον,  
 πρότερον δὲ χῶμα, ὥς φησιν Ἰβυκος, λογαίου  
 λίθου, ὃν καλεῖ ἐκλεκτόν. Βούρα δὲ καὶ Ἑλίκη,  
 ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ χιῶματος, ἡ δ' ὑπὸ κύματος ἠφανίσθη.  
 περὶ Μεθωνην δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἑρμιονικῷ κόλπῳ  
 ὁρος<sup>2</sup> ἑπταστάδιον τὸ ὕψος ἀνεβλήθη γεννηθέντος  
 ἀναφυσήματος φλογώδους, μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν  
 ἀπρόσιτον ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τῆς θειώδους  
 ὁσμῆς, νύκτωρ δ' <sup>3</sup> ἐκλάμπον πόρρω καὶ θερ-  
 μαῖνον, ὥστε ζεῖν τὴν θάλατταν ἐπὶ σταδίου  
 πάντε, θολερὰν δ' εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίοις,  
 προσχωσθῆναι δὲ πέτραις ἀπορρῶξι πύργων οὐκ  
 ἐλάττωσιν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Κοπαίδος λίμνης ἡ τε

<sup>1</sup> Νήρικον, Corais, for Νήρικον; O, the Epitome, and modern editors also.

<sup>2</sup> ὁρος, Kramer adds, from the Epitome; Groekurd, Meineke Müller Dübner, following.

<sup>3</sup> εἰώδες, before ἐκλάμπον, Corais deletes; Meineke follow-  
 ing; O. Müller approving.

name it has, but contrariwise Leucas, since the Corinthians cut a canal through the isthmus, has become an island although it was formerly a headland. Indeed it is with reference to Leucas, they say, that Laertes remarks: "As I was when I took Nereus, the well-built castle on the headland of the continent." Here then, a partition cut by hand has been made, in other places man has built moles or bridges—just as, in the case of the island next to Syracuse, there is at the present time a bridge which connects it with the mainland, whereas formerly there was a mole as Ibycus says, built of selected stones, which he calls stones "jucked out."<sup>1</sup> Then there are Burn and Helice. Burn disappeared in a chasm of the earth, and Helice was wiped out by a wave from the sea.<sup>2</sup> And about Methone in the Hermionie Gulf<sup>3</sup> a mountain seven stadia in height was cast up in consequence of a fiery eruption, and this mountain was unspruceable by day on account of the heat and the smell of sulphur, while at night it shone to a great distance and was so hot that the sea boiled for five stadia and was turled even for twenty stadia, and was heaped up with massive broken-off rocks no smaller than towers. And again, by Lake Copais<sup>4</sup> both Arne and Midea

<sup>1</sup> Ibycus says: "jucked out by mortal hands."

<sup>2</sup> Both were in Achaia. The earthquake took place 373 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> We should have expected Strabo to say "Saronic" Gulf. The form which he elsewhere gives to the Hermionie Gulf (see § 8. 1), making it reach as far north as Asopos and Egeaean territory is strange indeed, but is well explained with his definition Methone comes within the Hermionie Gulf.

<sup>4</sup> In Boeotia (Lake Tegelis).



\**Ἄρνη κατεπόθη καὶ Μίδεια, ἅς ὠνόμακεν ὁ ποιη-  
τὴς ἐν τῷ Καταλογῷ·*

*οἳ τε πολυσταφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἳ τε Μίδειαν.*  
(*Il.* 2. 507)

*καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Βιστουίδος δὲ καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἀφνίτιδος  
λίμνης εἰκόασι κατακεκλύσθαι πόλεις τινὰς  
Θρακῶν· οἳ δὲ καὶ Τρηρῶν, ὡς συνοικῶν τοῖς  
Θραξίν δυνται. καὶ ἡ πρότερον δὲ Ἀρτεμίτα  
λεγομένη μία τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων ἡπειρος  
γέγονε· καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶον  
νησίδων τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος φασὶ παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσχώσεως τοῦ πελάγους, συγ-  
χοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαί, ὡς Ἡρόδοτός<sup>1</sup> φησι.  
καὶ Αἰτωλικάι δὲ τινες ἄκραί εἰς νησιζοῦσαι  
πρότερον, καὶ ἡ Ἀστερία ἠλλακται, ἣν Ἀστερίδα  
φησὶν ὁ ποιητής·*

*ἔστι δὲ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλὴ πετρήεσσα.*

*Ἀστερίς, οὐ μεγάλη, λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ  
ἀμφίδυμον.* (*Od.* 4. 844)

*νυνὶ δὲ οὐδ' ἀγκυροβόλιον εὐφυνὲς ἔχει. ἐν τε τῇ  
Ἰθάκῃ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἄντρον τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ Νυμ-  
φαῖον, οἷόν φησιν Ὅμηρος· βέλτιον δὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι  
μεταβολὴν ἢ ἄγνοίαν ἢ κατάψευσιν τῶν τόπων  
κατὰ τὸ μυθῶδες. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἄσαφές ὦν*

Ο 60 *ἐὼ ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν.*

<sup>1</sup> Ἡρόδοτος, Corais, for Ἡσιόδατος, Meineke, Forbiger, Tzetz.,  
Tardieu, following.

were swallowed up places which have been named by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships. And they that possess Arne rich in vineyards and they that possess Midsea. And by Lake Biston, and by the lake which they now call Aphrosia? certain cities of Thracians appear to have been overgrown and some say cities of Thracians also, thinking they were neighbours of the Thracians. And, too, one of the Echinades islands, which used to be called Artemis, has become part of the continent and they say that still others of the little islands about the mouth of the Achæus have suffered the same change from the sitting up of the sea by the river, and the rest of them too as Herodotus<sup>1</sup> says, are in process of fusion with the continent. Again, there are certain Actonian promontories which were formerly islands, and Astoria has been changed, which the poet calls Astoria. Now there is a river issue in the mid-sea? Astoria, a little isle, and there is a harbour therein with a double entrance where ships may lie at anchor. But at the present time it has not even a good anchorage. Further in Ithaca there is no cave neither grotto of the Nymphs such as Homer describes, but it is better to ascribe the cause to physical change rather than to Homer's ignorance or to a false account of the places to suit the fabulous element in his poetry. Since this matter however is uncertain, I leave it to the public to investigate.

<sup>1</sup> In Thrace (Lake Lagos)

<sup>2</sup> The other name was Iuxetitia (see 13.1.5). It was in Bithynia and according to the best authorities it was not the same now as Valerius or that in the Actonides, but a third one which has been lost.

<sup>3</sup> Astoria may in days to come Ithaca and rugged Samos," says Homer, but scholars have been unable to identify it.

19. Ἡ δὲ Ἀντισσα νῆσος ἦν πρότερον, ὡς Μυρσίλος φησὶ τῆς δὲ Λέσβου καλουμένης πρότερον Ἰσσης, καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἀντισσαν καλεῖσθαι συνιβῆ· νῦν δὲ τῆς Λέσβου πόλις ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν Λέσβον τῆς Ἰδης ὑπερρωγαναι πεπιστεύκασι, καθάπερ τὴν Προχυτὴν καὶ τὴν Πιθηκοῦσσαν τοῦ Μισσηνοῦ, τὰς δὲ Καπρέας τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τὴν Σικελίαν δὲ τῆς Ῥηγίνης, τὴν Ὀσσαν δὲ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου. γιγνόμεναι δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦται μεταβολαί· καὶ ὁ Λύδων δὲ ὁ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἐπίσχε ποτὲ τὸ βεῦμα. Δουριε δὲ τὰς Ῥωγας τὰς κατὰ Μηδίαν ὠνομάσθαι φησὶν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν βραγείσης τῆς περὶ τὰς Κασπίου πύλας γῆς, ὥστε ἀνατραπῆναι πόλεις συχνὰς καὶ πώμας καὶ ποταμοὺς ποικίλας μεταβολὰς δέξασθαι. Ἴων δὲ περὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας φησὶν ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ Σατύροις·

Εὐβοίδα μὲν γῆν λεπτὸς Εὐρίπου κλύδων

Βοιωτίας ἰχωρίσ', ἀκτὴν ἐκτεμὼν

προβλήτα πορθμῷ. (fr. 18, Nauck)

20 Δημητριος δ' ὁ Καλλατιανὸς τοὺς καθ' ἑλπὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένους ποτὲ σεισμοὺς διηγούμενος τῶν τε Λιχυδων νήσων καὶ τοῦ Κηναίου τὰ πολλὰ καταδύναι φησι, τὰ τε θερμὰ τὰ ἐν Αἰδηψῷ καὶ Θερμοπυλαίς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι ἐπισχεθέντα πάλιν βυῆναι, τὰ δ' ἐν Αἰδηψῷ καὶ καθ' ἑτέρας ἀνατραπῆναι πηγὰς· Ὀρεοῦ δὲ τὰ πρὸς θαλάττῃ τείχος καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν περὶ ἑπτα-

<sup>1</sup> That is, the island opposite Ios (Lesbos) was called Antissa (Anti-Ios). <sup>2</sup> See B. 2. 4.

19. Antissa was formerly an island, as Myrtilus says, and since Lesbos was formerly called Issa, it came about that this island was called Antissa<sup>1</sup>, but now Antissa is a city of Lesbos. And some believe that Lesbos itself is a fragment broken off from Mt. Ida, just as Prochyta and Pithecussæ from Misenum, Capri from the Promontory of Athene, Sicily from the district of Rhegium, and Ossa from Olympus. And it is a fact that changes of this sort have also occurred in the neighbourhood of these places. And, again, the River Ladon in Arcadia once ceased to flow<sup>2</sup>. Durns says that Rhagæ in Media has received its name because the earth about the Caspian Gates had been "rent"<sup>3</sup> by earthquakes to such an extent that numerous cities and villages were destroyed, and the rivers underwent changes of various kinds. Ion says of Euboea in his satyrdrama *Omphale*: "The slender wave of Euripus hath separated the land of Euboea from Boeotia, in that by means of a strait it hath cut a projecting headland away."

20. Demetrius of Callatis, in his account of all the earthquakes that have ever occurred throughout all Greece, says that the greater part of the Lichades Islands<sup>4</sup> and of Cenacum<sup>5</sup> was engulfed, the hot springs at Aedepus<sup>6</sup> and Thermopylae, after having ceased to flow for three days, began to flow afresh, and those at Aedepus broke forth also at another source, at Oreus<sup>7</sup> the wall next to the sea and about

<sup>1</sup> The root of the verb here used is ring.

<sup>2</sup> Between Euboea and Locris.

<sup>3</sup> A promontory in north western Euboea, opposite Locris.

<sup>4</sup> A city in north western Euboea.

<sup>5</sup> A city in north eastern Euboea.

κοσίας συμπεσεῖν, Ἐχίνου τε καὶ Φαλάρων καὶ Ἡρακλείας τῆς Τραχίνος, τῶν μὲν πολὺ μέρος πεσεῖν, Φαλάρων δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐδάφους ἀνατραπῆναι<sup>1</sup> τὸ κτίσμα. παραπλήσια δὲ συμβῆναι καὶ Λαμειῦσι καὶ Λαρισαίοις· καὶ Σκυρφεῖαν δ' ἐκ θεμελίων ἀναρριφῆναι, καὶ καταδύναι σωματὰ χιλίων καὶ ἑστακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττω, Θρομοῖν δ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τουτων· κῦμα τε ἐξαρθεῖν τριχῇ, τὸ μὲν πρὸς Τάρφην<sup>2</sup> ἐνεχθῆναι καὶ Θρόμιον, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Θερμοπύλας, ἄλλο δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἕως τοῦ Φωκικοῦ Δαφνουκτος. πηγὰς τε ποταμῶν ξηρανθῆναι πρὸς ἡμέρας τινάς, τὸν δὲ Σπερχειὸν ἀλλαξαι τὸ ρεῖθρον καὶ ποιῆσαι πλωτὰς τὰς ὁδοὺς, τὸν δὲ Βοάγριον κατ' αἰλλῆς ἐνεχθῆναι φαραγγος, καὶ Ἀλοπῆς δὲ καὶ Κύνου καὶ Ὀποῦντος πολλὰ καταβλαβῆναι μέρη, Οἶον δὲ τὸ ὑπερκαίμενον φρουρίον πᾶν ἀνατραπῆναι, Ἐλατείας δὲ τοῦ τειχοῦς καταρραγῆναι μέρος, περὶ δὲ Ἄλπαινον<sup>3</sup> θεσμοφοριῶν ὄντων πάντε καὶ εἰκοσι παρθενούς ἀναδραμουσας εἰς πύργον τῶν ἐλλεμενίων κατὰ θεαν, πεσόντος τοῦ πύργου, πεσεῖν καὶ αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τῆς

C 61 Ἀταλαντῆς τῆς πρὸς Εἰβοίᾳ τὰ μέσα, ῥήγματος γενομένου, διὰπλυνν δέξασθαι μεταξύ, καὶ τῶν πεδίων ἕνα καὶ μέχρι εἰκοσι σταδίων ἐπικλυ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνατραπῆναι, Meineke restores, for Κρατερ's ἀνατραπῆναι, Tzetze following, C. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> Τάρφην Grætkus! for Τεάρφην, Meineke, Forbiger, Tzetze, following, C. Müller approving.

<sup>3</sup> Ἄλπαινον, Corais, for Ἄλπαιον, editors following.

seven hundred of the houses collapsed,<sup>1</sup> and as for Echinus and Phalara and Heracleia in Trachis, not only was a considerable portion of them thrown down, but the settlement of Phalara was overturned, ground and all. And, says he, something quite similar happened to the people of Lamia and of Larissa, and Scarpbia, also, was flung up, foundations and all, and no fewer than seventeen hundred human beings were engulfed and over half as many Thronians, again, a triple-headed wave rose up, one part of which was carried in the direction of Torphe and Thronium, another part to Thermopylae, and the rest into the plain as far as Daphnus in Phocis, fountains of rivers were dried up for a number of days, and the Sphærchemus changed its course and made the roadways navigable, and the Boagrius was carried down a different ravine and also many sections of Alope, Lynus, and Opus were seriously damaged, and Oenon, the castle above Opus was laid in utter ruin, and a part of the wall of Elateia was broken down, and at Alporus, during the celebration of the Thesmophoria, twenty five girls ran up into one of the towers at the harbour to get a view, the tower fell, and they themselves fell with it into the sea. And they say also, of the Atalanta near Euboea that its middle portions, because they had been rent asunder, got a ship-canal through the rent, and that some of the plains were overflowed even as far as twenty stadia, and

<sup>1</sup> The places subsequently named in this paragraph except Atalanta are all in the mainland of Greece, more or less in proximity to the Euboean Sea.

σθῆναι, καὶ τριήρη τινα ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἔξαρθεισαν<sup>1</sup> ὑπερπιστεῖν τοῦ τειχοῦς.

21 Προστίθασι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μεταστάσεων μεταβολὰς ἐπὶ πλείων τὴν ἀθαιμαστιαν ἡμῖν κατασκευάζειν ἐθίζοντες, ἥν ἡμεῖς Δημοκρίτους καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοσοφοὶ πάντες<sup>2</sup> παρίκειται γὰρ τῇ ἀθαμβεῖ καὶ ἀταραχῇ καὶ ἀνεκπληκτῇ αἰσῶν Ἰβηρῶν μὲν τῶν ἀσπериων εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ποντοῦ καὶ τῆς Κολχίδος τοποὺς μετακισμενῶν (αὗτος ὁ Ἀριῆξης, ὅς φησιν Ἀπολλοδώρου, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ὀρίζει, Κύρος δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ ἔρη τὰ Μοσχικὰ), Αἰγυπτίων δ' εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Κολχούς, Ἑκτεῶν δ' ἐκ Παφλαγονίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐθνῶν συνεβη, Ἰωνῶν καὶ Δωριῶν καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Αἰνιῶντες καὶ νῦν Αἰτωλοὺς ὁμοῖοι περὶ τὸ Δωτικὸν ἔχουσιν καὶ τὴν Ὀσσάν μετα Περραιβῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ Περραιβοὶ μεταναστὰς τινες πλήρης δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων ἢ νῦν ἐκστῶσα πραγματεία τινα μὲν οὖν καὶ προχειρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστὶν<sup>3</sup> αἱ δὲ τῶν Καρῶν καὶ Τρηῶν καὶ Τευκρῶν μεταναστᾶσεις καὶ Γαλατῶν, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονῶν οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκτοπισμοί, Μυθυῖς τε τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ καὶ Γερκεῖ τοῦ Αἰθιοπικοῦ καὶ Κισθου τοῦ Τρηῶς καὶ Σεσώστριος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἔξαρθι καὶ. Madvig for ἐξαρθέισαν, Tovar following.

<sup>2</sup> ἐστὶν, Meineke, for ἔστω.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus 12. 60) says that Aitalia was once a peninsula and that it was broken away from the mainland<sup>1</sup> by an earthquake, though he does not refer to the occurrence

that a trireme was lifted out of the docks and cast over the wall.<sup>1</sup>

§1 Writers also add the changes resulting from the migrations of peoples, wishing to develop in us, to a still greater extent, that virtue of not marveling at things—a virtue which is lauded by Democritus and all the other philosophers, for they put it in a class with freedom from dread and from perturbability and from terror.<sup>2</sup> For instance, the migration of Western Iberians<sup>3</sup> to the regions beyond the Pontus and Caucas (regions which are separated from Armenia by the Araxes according to Apollodorus but rather by the River Cyrus and the Moschian Mountains) and the migration of Egyptians to Ethiopia and Coele<sup>4</sup>, and that of Eneti<sup>5</sup> from Paphlagonia to the Adriatic. This is what took place in the case of the Greek tribes also—Ionians, Dorians, Achæans, and Æolians, and the Ænians that are now neighbours of the Antians used to live about Dodum and Mt Ossa among the Perrhæbians, and, too, the Perrhæbians themselves are emigrants. And the present treatise is full of such instances. A number of them to be sure are matters even of ready knowledge to most people but the emigrations of the Carians, Trerans, Leucians, and Galatians, and likewise also the expeditions of the princes to lands far remote, I refer to Madys the Scythian, Tearko the Phrygian, Cobus the Treran, Senutris and Pannutichus the mentioned by Strabo. Both apparently have in mind the earthquake of 696 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> See § 6 above and the footnote.

<sup>2</sup> That is, "Western" as distinguished from the new, or "Eastern"—Ionia beyond the Helles.

<sup>3</sup> Compare "Venetians"; and see § 1. 4.



Ψαμμίτιχου τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Περσῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Κύρου μέχρι Ξέρξου οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐν ἐτοίμῳ πᾶσιν εἰσιν. οἱ τε Κιμμέριοι οὖς καὶ Τρῆρας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἡ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πολλάκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγῶνας, τοτὲ δε καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες, ἡνίκα Μίδαυ αἶμα ταύρου πίνοντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεῶν. Αὐγδαμς δὲ τοὺς αἰτοῦ ἄγων μέχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας ἤλασε καὶ Σύρδεις εἶλεν, ἐν Κιλικίᾳ δὲ διεφθάρη. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ οἱ Κιμμέριοι καὶ οἱ Τρῆρες ἐποίησαντο τὰς τοιαύτας ἐφοδούς· τοὺς δὲ Τρῆρας καὶ Κῶβον ὑπὸ Μαδνός τὸ τελευταῖον ἐξελαθῆναί φασι τοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν<sup>1</sup> βασιλέως. ταῦτα μιν εἰρήσθω πρὸς ἅπασαν κοινῇ τὴν περιοδὸν τῆς γῆς ἔχοντα οἰκίαν ἱστορίαν.

22. Ἐπᾶνιμεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ἀφ' ὧν παρέβημεν. τοῦ γὰρ Ἡροδότου μηδένας Ἑπερβορείους εἶναι φησαντος, μηδὲ γὰρ Ἑπερνοτίους, γελοιοί<sup>2</sup> φησιν εἶναι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ ὁμοίαν ὃ Ἐρατοσθένης τῷ σοφίσματι τούτῳ, εἰ τις λέγοι μηδένας εἶναι ἐπιχαιρεκάκους, μηδὲ γὰρ ἐπιχαιραγάθους· κατὰ τύχην τε εἶναι καὶ Ἑπερνοτίους· κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν μὴ πρεῖν Νατον, ἀλλὰ<sup>3</sup> κατωτέρω.

<sup>1</sup> Σκυθῶν, Penzel, Laroher for Κιμμέριον; Grossekurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following, Kramer, C. Müller, approving.

<sup>2</sup> γελοῖον Tyrwhitt, for λέγοι ἐν, eustora following.

<sup>3</sup> The old reading without καὶ is restored by Kramer, Meineke, C. Müller.

Egyptians, and to Persians from Cyrus to Xerxes) are not likewise matters of off hand knowledge to everybody. And those Cimmerians whom they also call Tetrans (or some tribe or other of the Cimmerians often overrun the countries on the right of the Pontus and those adjacent to them, at one time having invaded Paphlagonia, and at another time Phrygia even, at which time Midas drank bull's blood, they say and thus went to his doom. Lygdamis,<sup>1</sup> however, at the head of his own soldiers, marched as far as Lydia and Ionia and captured Sardes, but lost his life in Lycia. Oftentimes both Cimmerians and Tetrans made such invasions as these, but they say that the Tetrans and Colchians were finally driven out by Madyes, the king of the Scythians. Let these illustrations be given here, inasmuch as they involve matters of fact which have a bearing upon the entire compass of the world in general.

22 I now return to the points next in order, whence I digressed.<sup>2</sup> First, as for the statement of Herodotus<sup>3</sup> that there are no Hyperboreans<sup>4</sup> because there are also no Hyperboreans.<sup>5</sup> Eratosthenes says the argument presented is absurd and like the following quibble: suppose some one should say "There are none who rejoice over the ills of others because there are also none who rejoice over the blessings of others." And, as it Eratosthenes, it so happens that there are also Hyperboreans: at all events, Notus does not blow in Ethiopia, but farther north. But it

<sup>1</sup> King of the Cimmerians.

<sup>2</sup> At § 6 Strabo digressed from the order of discussion proposed by Eratosthenes. <sup>3</sup> Herod. 4. 36.

<sup>4</sup> People beyond the North Wind.

<sup>5</sup> People beyond Notus (South Wind).

θαυμαστὸν δ', εἰ, καθ' ἕκαστον κλίμα πνέοντος ἀνέμου, καὶ πανταχοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας Νότου προσαγορευομένου, ἔστι τις οἴκησις ἐν ᾗ τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει. τοῦναντίον γὰρ οὐ μόνον Αἰθιοπία ἔχει ἂν τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς Νοτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀνωτέρα πᾶσα μέχρι τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ. εἰ δ' ἄρα, τοῦ Ἡροδότου τοῦτ' ἐχρῆν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους τούτους ὑπέλαβε λέγεσθαι, παρ' οἷς ὁ Βορέας οὐ πνεῖ. καὶ γὰρ εἰ οἱ ποιηταὶ μυθικώτερον οὕτω φασίν, οἳ γ' ἐξηγούμενοι τὸ ὑγιὲς ἂν ἀκούσαιεν, Ὑπερβορείους τοὺς βορειοτάτους λέγεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> ὅρος δὲ τῶν μὲν βορείων ὁ πόλος, τῶν δὲ νοτίων ὁ ἰσημερινός· καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρος.

23. Ἐξῆς δὲ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς φανερώς πεπλασμένα καὶ ἀδύνατα λέγοντας, τὰ μὲν ἐν μύθοι σχήματι, τὰ δ' ἱστορίας, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἄξιον μεμνήσθαι οὐδ' ἐκείνων ἐχρῆν ἐν ὑποθέσει τοιαύτῃ φλυάρους ἐπισκοπεῖν ἢ μὲν οὖν πρώτη διέξοδος αὐτῶν ὑπομνημάτων τοιαύτη.

## IV

1. Ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πειρᾶται διόρθωσιν τινα ποιῆσθαι τῆς γεωγραφίας, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ λέγει

<sup>1</sup> φασί, after λέγεσθαι, Groskurd deletes, editors following  
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is a marvellous thing if, although winds blow in every latitude, and although the wind that blows from the south is everywhere called Notus, there is any inhabited place where this is not the case. For, on the contrary, not only might Ethiopia have the same Notus as we have, but even the whole country further south as far as the equator might have it. However that may be, this charge should be laid against Herodotus, that he assumed that by "Hyperboreans" those peoples were meant in whose countries Boreas does not blow. For even if the poets do speak thus, rather mythically, those, at least, who expound the poets should give ear to sound doctrine, namely, that by "Hyperboreans" were meant merely the most northerly<sup>1</sup> peoples. And as for limits, that of the northerly<sup>1</sup> peoples is the north pole, while that of the southerly<sup>2</sup> peoples is the equator, and the winds too have the same limits.

23 Next in order, Eratosthenes proceeds to reply to those whose stories are plainly fictitious and impossible, some of which are in the form of myths, and others in the form of history—persons whom it is not worth while to mention, neither should he, when treating a subject of this kind, have paid heed to persons who talk nonsense. Such, then, is Eratosthenes' course of argument in the First Book of his *Commentaries*.

## IV

1 In his Second Book Eratosthenes undertakes a revision of the principles of geography, and he declares his own assumptions, to which, in turn, it

<sup>1</sup> Laterally, "borean."

<sup>2</sup> Laterally, "notian."

ὑπολαμβάνει· πρὸς δὲ πύλιν, εἴ ποτε τις ἐπανορθώσῃ, πειρατικῶν προσφύμιν τὸ μὲν οὖν τὰς μαθηματικὰς ὑπὸθεσεις εἰσαγεῖν<sup>1</sup> καὶ φυσικὰς εὐλογηται, καὶ ὅτι εἰ σφαιροειδὴς ἡ γῆ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ κόσμος, περιοικεῖται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰ δὲ τηλικαυτῇ ἡλίαν αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, οὐχ ἀμολογοῦσιν οἱ ὕστερον, οὐδ' ἔπαινοῦσι τὴν ἀναμετρησὶν ὁμοίαν δὲ πρὸς τὴν σημειώσιν τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰκίσους ἐκυστὰς φαινόμενων προσχρῆται τοῖς διαστήμασιν ἐκείνοις<sup>2</sup> Ἰπταρχος ἐπιτοὶ διὰ Μερόης καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Βορυσθηνίου μεσημβρίωνι, μικρὸν παραλλυττεῖν φησας παρατὴν αὐθιάν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔξῃς διὰ πλείων καταλείκει<sup>3</sup> ὅτι σφαιροειδὴς καὶ ἡ γῆ συν τῇ ὑποφ' φήσει καὶ ὁ οὐρανός, ἀλλοτριολογεῖν δὲ δοξείεν ἀρεαί γὰρ τε ἐπὶ μικρὸν.

C 63 γ' Ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ πλεονεκτήσας τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑφαρίξων φησιν ὑπομὲν Μερόης ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς μεσημβρινοῦ μέχρι Ἀλεξανδρείας εἶναι μυριοὺς, ἐνθεν δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον περὶ οκτακισχιλίους ἐκατον, εἰτ' ὡς Βορυσθηνίαν πεντακισχιλίους, εἰτ' ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλὸν τὸν διὰ Θυλῆς ἢν φησὶ Πυθίας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Πρεττανικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ὑπερεῖν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἔγγυς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης)

<sup>1</sup> εἰσαγεῖν Strabo, for ἐγείρει editors following.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδ' Codd. bap, for δὲ οὐδ' οὐδ' ἔπαινοῦσι.

<sup>3</sup> καταλείπειν. T. A. Tucker for οὐ καταλείπειν.

<sup>1</sup> 224,000 stadia in circumference at the equator. See §. 5. 7

<sup>2</sup> The Danube, Strabo means, as usual, the mouth of the river

there is any further revision to be made, I must undertake to supply it. Now his introduction of the principles of mathematics and physics into the subject is a *comme d'habitude* thing, also his remark that if the earth is sphere-shaped just as the universe is, it is inhabited all the way round and his other remarks of this nature. But as to the question whether the earth is as large as he has said, later writers do not agree with him, neither do they approve his measurement of the earth.<sup>1</sup> Still, when Hipparch<sup>2</sup> is plots the celestial phenomena for the several inhabited places, he uses, in addition, those intervals measured by Eratosthenes on the meridian through Meroc and Alexandria and the Borsythenes,<sup>3</sup> after saying that they deviate but slightly from the truth. And too in Eratosthenes subsequent discussion about the shape of the earth, when he demonstrates at greater length that not only the earth with its liquid constituent is sphere-shaped but the heavens also, he would seem to be talking about things that are foreign to his subject, for a brief statement is sufficient.<sup>4</sup>

2 Next in determining the breadth of the inhabited world Eratosthenes says that, beginning at Meroc and measuring on the meridian that runs through Meroc it is ten thousand stadia to Alexandria, and thence to the Hellespont about eight thousand one hundred, then to the Borsythenes five thousand, then to the parallel circle that runs through Thule which Pytheas says is a six days sail north of Britain, and is near the frozen sea)

<sup>1</sup> Strabo means that the hypotheses of physics and astronomy should be accepted at once by geographers. Compare L. G. S.

ἄλλους ὥς μυρίους χιλίους πεντακοσίους. ἔαν οὖν ἐπὶ προσθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μερῶν ἄλλους τριαχιλίους τετρακοσίους, ἵνα τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πῆσιν ἔχωμεν καὶ τὴν Κινναμωμοφόρον καὶ τὴν Ταπρобоιην, ἔσεσθαι σταδίους τρισμυρίους ὀκτακισχιλίους.

3. Τα μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διαστήματα δεδύσθω αὐτῷ· ὁμολόγηται γὰρ ἱκανῶς· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθίνου ἐπὶ τὸν δια Θούλης κύκλον τίς ἂν δοίῃ νοῦν ἔχων, ὃ τε γὰρ ἱστορῶν τὴν Θούλην Πυθίας ἀνὴρ ψευδίστατος ἐξητασται, καὶ οἱ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν καὶ Ἰερνὴν ἰδόντες οὐδεν περὶ τῆς θούλης λέγουσιν, ἄλλας νήσους λιγόντες μικρὰς περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν. αὕτῃ τε ἡ Βρεττανικὴ τὸ μῆκος ἴσως πῶς ἐστὶ τῇ Κελτικῇ παρεκτεταμένη, τῶν πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων οὐ μείζων, καὶ τοῖς ἄκροις τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις ἀφορίζομεν. ἀντίκειται γὰρ ἄλληλοις τα τε ἑῷα ἄκρα τοῖς ἑρῶις καὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τοῖς ἑσπερίοις, καὶ τὰ γε ἑῷα ἑγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ μέχρις ἐπ' ὄψεως, τὴν τε Καντίον καὶ αἰ τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολαί. ὃ δὲ πλειονων ἢ δισμυρίων τὸ μῆκος ἀποφαίνει τῆς νήσου, καὶ το Καντίον ἡμερῶν τιτῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν τῆς Κελτικῆς φησί· καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ὠατιμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ῥήνου τὰ μέχρι Σκυθῶν πάντα κατέψευσται τῶν τόπων. ὅστις οὖν περὶ τῶν γνωριζομένων

<sup>1</sup> καὶ, Κρανὸς ἰσοπέδι; editors following.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo elsewhere speaks of this island as "the island of the fugitive Egyptians." See 2. 5. 14 and note), 16. 4. 8, and 17. 1. 2; also Ptoxy, *Nat. Hist.* 6. 23.

about eleven thousand five hundred more. Accordingly if we add three thousand four hundred stadia more to the south of *Minus*, in order to embrace the land of the Egyptians, the Libyæan, Judæan, Egyptian, and Taprobanean,\* we shall have thirty eight thousand stadia.

3. However with one exception, let all the distances of *Stratheyas* be granted him for they are sufficiently agreed upon. But what man of sense could grant the distance from the *Horeythones* to the parallel of *Tybe*? For not only has the man who tells about *Thule*, *Pitæcæ*, been found upon scrutiny to be an anti-falsifier but the men who have seen *Britain* and *Ceylon*† do not mention *Thule* though they speak of other islands, small ones, about *Britain*, and *Britain* itself stretches as wide of *Celtica*‡ with a length about equal thereto being not greater in length than five thousand stadia and its limits are defined as the extremities of *Celtica* which lie opposite its own. For the eastern extremity of the one country lies opposite the eastern extremity of the other and the western extremity of the one opposite the western of the other and their eastern extremities at a point are near enough to each other for a person to see across from one to the other. *Libyan Cantium*§ and the mouth of the *Rhene*¶. But *Pitæcæ* declares that the length of *Thule* is more than twenty thousand stadia and that *Cantium* is severally less than *Celtica* and in his account both of the *Celtians* and of what is beyond the *Rhene* as far as *Verthus* he has in every case falsified the regions. However, any man who has told such

\* Ceylon.

† France, roughly.

‡ Ireland.

§ Kent.



τότων τασαῦτα ἔψενται, σχολῇ γ' ἂν περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀληθεύειν δύναίτο.

4. Τον δὲ διὰ τοῦ Βορυσθενοῦς παραλλήλον τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ διὰ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς εἰκάζουσιν Ἱππαρχος τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν διὰ Βιζαντίου τῷ διὰ Μασσαλίας· ὅν γὰρ λυγρὸν εἶρηκε Πυθέας<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἐν Μασσαλία γνωμένου πρὸς τὴν σκίαν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἱππαρχος κατὰ τὸν ὁμωνυμοῦ καιρὸν εὔρειν ἐν τῷ Βιζαντιῷ φησιν ἐκ Μασσαλίας δεῦρος μισθὴν τὴν Βρεττανικὴν αὐτῷ πλέον τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἐστὶ σταδίων ἄλλὰ μὴν ἐκ μίσης τῆς Βρεττανικῆς αὐτῷ πλέον τῶν τετρακισχιλίων προελθὼν εὔροις<sup>2</sup> ἂν αἰκισίμου ἄλλως πως, τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη το πρὶ τὴν Ἰερύην), ὥστε τὰ ἑκακίσα, εἰς ἃ ἐκτοπιζει τὴν Θουλήν, οὐκ ἐστὶν αἰκίσιμα, τίμη δ' ἂν καὶ στοχασμῷ λιγὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ Θουλήης ἕως τοῦ διὰ Βορυσθενοῦς μυρίων καὶ χιλίων πεντακοσίων, οὐχ ὀρῶ.

Ο 64 5. Διαμαρτυρῶν δὲ τοῦ πλάτους ἠνάγκασται καὶ τοῦ μήκους ἀστοχίῳ ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πλέον ἢ διπλασίον το γνωρίμων μῆκος ἐστὶ τοῦ γνωρίμου πλάτους, ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ οἱ ὕστερον καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν<sup>3</sup> οἱ χαριστάτοι λέγω δε τὸ<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰθέρης τοῦ ἀπ' ὧν Αἰθιοπῶν ἕως τοῦ κατὰ Ἰερύην κυκλίου.

<sup>1</sup> Πυθέας, Sprengel inserts Meiseke, Forster, following, C. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> εὔροις, Certain for εὔροι Groskurd, Meiseke, Forbiger, following, C. Müller approving.

<sup>3</sup> παλαιῶν Certain, for ἄλλων Groskurd Meiseke, Forbiger, Tardieu following, C. Müller ap. &

<sup>4</sup> τὰ, Xen. & inserts before ἐστὶ, Meiseke following, Kramer C. Müller approving.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ, Meiseke inserts.

great falsehoods about the known regions would hardly I imagine, be able to tell the truth about places that are not known to anybody.

4 The passage through the mouth of the Rhenus thence is conjectured by Hipparchus and others to be the same as that through Britain from the fact that the passage through Byzantium is the same as that through Massilia, for as to the relation of the distances to the stadium which Pitagoras has given for Massilia this same relation Hipparchus says he observed at Byzantium at the same time of the year as that mentioned by Pitagoras. But it is not more than five thousand stadia from Massilia to the centre of Britain. Furthermore if you were to proceed not more than four thousand stadia north from the centre of Britain you would find a region that is inhabitable only after a fashion, which region would be in the neighbourhood of Ierne, and so as for the regions farther on far out where Ptolemaeus places them you would find places no longer habitable. Not by what guesswork. For he can say that the distance from the passage through Ierne to that through the mouth of the Rhætanes is eleven thousand five hundred stadia. I do not see.

5 And since he entirely missed the breadth of the inhabited world, he has necessarily failed to guess its length also. For in the first place that the known length is more than double the known breadth is agreed to by the later writers as well as by the most accurate sheet of the early writers. I mean the distance from the extremities of India to the extremities of Ierne, double that from Hæcque up to the passage that runs by Ierne. Again, after

1 Massilia.

ὁμοίαι δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα πλάτος τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης  
 Ἀφίοντος μέχρι τοῦ διὰ θρύλλης ἐπταμῆ πλῆος  
 ἢ δὲ τὸ μήκος, ὅση ποιήσῃ πλῆος ἢ διπλάσιον  
 τοῦ λεγόμενου πλάτους φησι γοῦν<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν τῆς  
 Ἰνδικῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ στερότατον  
 σταδίωον μίριον ἑξαεσιχίλιον τὸ γὰρ εἶναι τὰ ἀρ-  
 ρωτήρια τέσσαρες τριεσιχίλιοι εἶναι μείζον τὰ δὲ διόθεν  
 εἶναι Κασπίου π. λας μίριον τετραεσιχίλιον εἶναι<sup>2</sup>  
 εἶναι τὸν Εὐφράτην μίριον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον σπὺ  
 τοῦ Εὐφράτου τετραεσιχίλιον. ἄλλων δὲ χίλιον  
 καὶ τριακοσίον<sup>3</sup> μέχρι Καυκάσιου ὄρους, εἶνα  
 μέχρι τῆς Καρχηδονος μίλιον τριεσιχίλιον πεντα-  
 κοσίον, εἶνα μέχρι Στήλων ἑξαεσιχίλιον  
 τοὐλαχιστόν ὑπερβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεμνηδῶς  
 ἑξαεσιχίλιον<sup>4</sup> ὅλην δὲ εἶναι προσβέβαιον τὸ εἶναι  
 Ἰσπανίαν στήλων ἐνδομήνη τῆς Ἰωνίας ἀνα-  
 παύσαντος μετὰ τοῖς Ἰάτραι, προσετιθέμενος δὲ πρὸς  
 τὴν Ἀσπασίαν, εἶναι Πάτων σταδίωον τριεσιχίλιον,  
 καὶ τὰ ἀρωτήρια τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τῶν  
 Ἰσπανίων ἢ καλεῖται Καβαίων καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ  
 τοῦ οὐ σήσαν, ὅση τῆς ἐσχάτης Οὐξισμῆος φησι  
 Πόριος ἀπὸ τῆς πύργου τριῶν στήλων. ταῦτα δ'  
 αὐτῶν τὰ τελευτάσια οὐκ ἐστὶν πρὸς τὸ μήκος συν-  
 τεύοντα προσέθηκεν τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀρωτηρίων καὶ  
 τῶν Ἰσπανίων καὶ τῆς Οὐξισμῆος καὶ ὅση φησι  
 σήσαν, ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα προσυματῶντα εἶναι καὶ  
 Κελτικὰ, εἶναι Ἰσπανικὰ, μάλιστα δὲ Ἰνδοῦ πλά-  
 σματα, προσετιθέμενος τε τοῖς ἀρῆμῶσι τοῦ μήκους

<sup>1</sup> γοῦν, A. Miller, For B' edn.

<sup>2</sup> τετραεσιχίλιον, ——— in parentheses.

<sup>3</sup> τετραεσιχίλιον, Diacritic restored, the reading before Kramer.

## GEOGRAPHY, 1 & 3

Eratosthenes has determined the said breadth, namely that from extreme Ethiopia up to the parallel of 120° he extends the length beyond the due measure in order to make the length more than double the shortest breadth. At all events he says that the narrowest part of India up to the river Indus measures seven thousand stadia; for the part of India that extends to its capes will increase the length by three thousand stadia, and the distance thence to the Caspian Gates, fourteen thousand, then to the Euphrates ten thousand and from the Euphrates to the Nile five thousand and on to its Canadian mouth seven hundred more, then to Carthage thirteen thousand five hundred, then to the Pillars at least eight thousand, were it according to he says an excess of eight hundred stadia over seventy thousand stadia. We must add he says the length of Europe inside the Pillars which lies over against Illyria and is more westward, reaching not less than three thousand stadia. We must also add at the same time in particular that of the Isthmus called Isthmus, and the distance about it—the extremity of which, Lucius Paternus says, is a three days' sail. And after measuring these last pieces, though some of them in like stretch add nothing to the length of the world, yet would he have added the regions in the neighbourhood of the capes of the Christiana, of 120° and of all the lands he names. In fact these pieces are towards the north and belong to Celtic not to Illyria—or rather they are mountains of Peloponnesus. And he adds to the

1 On Robinson's Plan 2 & 3 apparently Points de Rep.

2 Lucius Paternus, the Ambassador of Flavius Jovianus A.D. 360 (30).

διαστήμασιν ἄλλοις σταδίοις δισχιλίους μὲν πρὸς τῇ δυσει, δισχιλίους δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἵνα σωσῇ τὸ μὴ<sup>1</sup> πλεον ἢ ἡμῶν τοῦ μηκὺς τὸ πλῆτος.

6. Παραμυθούμενος δ' ἐπὶ πλεον, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ το ἰπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δυσει διαστημα μείζον λέγειν, κατὰ φύσιν φησὶν εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν μακροτέραν εἶναι τὴν οἶκον μένην, καί<sup>2</sup>, καθυπερείρηκαμεν, ὥς οἱ μαθηματικοί, φησί, κυκλον συνιπτειν, συμβάλλουσας αὐτὴν ἐαυτῇ ὥστ', εἰ μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους ἐκάλυε κἄν πλείν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος παρα τὸ λεχθεν διίστημα ὑπὲρ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὅν τοῦ ὅλου κύκλον· εἴπερ ὁ δι' Ἀθηνῶν<sup>3</sup> ἑλαττων ἐστὶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων, ὅπου πεποιήμεθα τὸν εἰρημίνον σταδιασμον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. οὐδὲ ταῦτα οὖν εὖ λέγει οὗτος γὰρ ὁ λόγος<sup>4</sup> περι μὲν τῆς εὐκράτου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> μὴ, Kramer inserts, Forbiger following.

<sup>2</sup> καί, Jones inserts.

<sup>3</sup> The old reading was διὰ θύρας, but AC have θύρας. Kramer rightly reads as above. Cf readings of MSS. on 1. 4. 8, 2 1 1 2 1 2 2 1 5, and 2 1 24.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ, after λέγει, Corais deletes, Meineke following.

<sup>1</sup> The inhabited world is thought of as an arc, which, when produced, completes a circle. Even Aristotle had discussed the question whether the inhabited world, in its length, could be connected by an arc of latitude drawn from Spain westward to India. *Meteor.* 2. 5. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Eratosthenes means by "the aforesaid distance" his length of the inhabited world, 77,800 stadia.



καθ' ἡμῶν ζώνης λέγουτ' ἂν κατὰ τοὺς μαθηματικούς, ἥς μέρος ἡ οἰκουμένη ἐστί, περὶ δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης—καλοῦμεν γὰρ οἰκουμένην ἣν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ γνωρίζομεν ἐνδέχεται δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ εὐκράτῳ ζώνῃ καὶ δύο οἰκουμένας εἶναι ἢ καὶ πλείους,<sup>1</sup> καὶ μάλιστα ἐγγύς τοῦ εἰς Ἀθηνῶν κύκλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους γραφομένου. πάλιν δὲ ἐπιμένων τῇ περὶ τοῦ σφαιροειδῆ τὴν γῆν εἶναι ἀποδείξει τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιτιμησεως ἂν τυγχάνοι. ὥς δ' αὖτως καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὅμηρον οὐ παύεται περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διαφερομενος.

7. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἡπειρῶν εἰπὼν γεγονέναι πολὺν λόγον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τοῖς ποταμοῖς διαιρεῖν αὐτάς, τῷ τε Νεῖλῳ καὶ τῷ Ταυρίδι, νησοὺς ἀποφαίνοντας, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἰσθμοῖς, τῷ τε μεταξὺ τῆς Κασπίας καὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ἑκρηγματος, τούτους δὲ χειρρονήσους αὐτάς λέγειν, οὐχ ὁρᾶν φησι, πῶς ἂν εἰς πρᾶγμά τι<sup>2</sup> καταστρέφοι ἢ ζητήσεις αὐτή, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἔριν διαιτῶντων μᾶλλον κατὰ Δημόκριτον εἶναι. μὴ ὄντων γὰρ ἀκριβῶν ὄρων καθαπερ Κολυττοῦ καὶ Μελιτῆς, οἷον στηλῶν ἢ περιβόλων, τοῦτο μὲν ἔχειν φαναι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι τουτὶ μὲν ἐστὶ Κολυττός, τουτὶ δὲ Μελιτῆ, τοὺς ὄρους δὲ μὴ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. διὰ καὶ συμβαίνειν κρίσεις πολλάκις

<sup>1</sup> i. e. *Cornis delatae, before me*; Kramer, O. Müller unsuspecting; ἄστιν οὕτως following.

<sup>2</sup> πρᾶγμά τι, *Cobae*, for *πράγματα*; A. Müller apparently approving.

treatment of the temperate zone (that is, our zone) from the point of view of mathematics since the inhabited world is a fraction of the temperate zone, yet in the treatment of the inhabited world—why? we call "inhabited" the world which we inhabit and know, though it may be that in the same temperate zone there are actually two inhabited worlds, or even more and particularly in the proximity of the parallel through Athens that is drawn across the Atlantic sea. And again by dwelling on his demonstration of the spheroidal shape of the earth he might meet with the same criticism as before. And in the same way also he does not cease to quarrel with Homer about the very same things.

7 Next, after saying that there has been much discussion about the continents and that some divide them by the rivers the Nile and the Tanais, declaring them to be islands, while others divide them by the isthmuses the isthmus between the Caspian and the Pontic Seas, and the isthmus between the Red Sea and the Erythraean, and that the latter call the continents peninsulas, Eratosthenes then says that he does not see how this investigation can end in any practical result, but that it belongs only to persons who choose to live on a diet of disputation, after the manner of Democritus, for if there be no accurate boundaries take the case of Corfu and Melite<sup>1</sup> of stone poets, for example, or enclosures, we can say only this, 'This is Corfu' and 'That is Melite,' but we should not be able to point out the boundaries, and this is the reason also why disputes often arise

<sup>1</sup> Literally the "Ostrink" the outlet of Lake Arthemis into the Mediterranean. <sup>2</sup> Attic demes, or townships.



περὶ χωρίων τινῶν, καθήνπερ Ἀργείοις μὲν καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ Θυρέας, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ  
 Βοιωτοῖς περὶ Ὠρωποῦ. ἄλλως τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας  
 τὰς τρεῖς ἡπείρους ὀνομάσαι, οὐκ εἰς τὴν οἰκου-  
 μένην ἀποβλέψαντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τε τὴν σφετέραν  
 καὶ τὴν ἀπαντικρὺ τὴν Καρικὴν, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν Ἴωνες  
 καὶ οἱ ἐξῆς· χρόνῳ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεον προΐοντας ἀεὶ  
 καὶ πλειονων γνωριζομένων χωρῶν εἰς ταῦτα  
 καταστρέψαι τὴν διαίρεσιν. πότερον οὖν οἱ  
 πρῶτοι διορισαι-τες τὰς τρεῖς, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἐσχάτων ἄρξωμαι διαιτῶν τὴν ἕριν μὴ κατὰ  
 Δημοκριτον, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτόν, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ  
 πρῶτοι τὴν σφετέραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντικειμένης τῆς  
 τῶν Καρῶν διορίσαι ζητοῦντες, ἢ οὗτοι μὲν τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα ἐπενόησαν μόνην καὶ τὴν Καρίαν καὶ  
 ὀλίγην τὴν συνεχῇ, οὔτε δ' Εὐρώπην οὔτε Ἀσίαν  
 C 66 ὡσαύτως οὔτε Λιβύην, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπιόντες  
 ὅση ἦν ἱκανὴ ὑπογράψαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 ἐπίνοιαν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ εἰς τρία διαιροῦντες; πῶς  
 οὖν οὐ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐποιοῦντο διαιρεσιν, τίς δὲ  
 τρία μέρη λέγων καὶ καλῶν ἡπειρον ἕκαστον τῶν  
 μερῶν οὐ προσεπινοεῖ τὸ ὅλον, οὐ τὸν μερισμὸν  
 ποιεῖται, εἰ δ' ἐπινοεῖ μὲν μὴ τὴν οἰκουμένην,  
 μέρους δὲ τινος αὐτῆς τὸν μερισμὸν ποιοῖτο, τίνας  
 ἂν τις μέρους τῆς οἰκουμένης μέρος εἶπε τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ὅση . . . ὑπογράψαι, Corais, for ὅσην ἱκανὰ ὑπογράψαι,  
 Grosekurd, Forbiger, Meisacko, following.

concerning districts, such as the dispute between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians about Thera, and between the Athenians and the Thebans about Thebes; and the Greeks named the three continents wrongly, because they did not look out upon the whole inhabited world, but merely upon their own country and that which lay directly opposite to it, namely, Caria, where Ionians and their immediate neighbours now live, but in time ever advancing still further and learning acquainted with more and more countries, they have hence brought their divisions of the continents to what it now is. The question then is whether the "first men" who divided the three continents' boundaries to begin with truthfulness not proceeded upon disposition not after the manner of democracy, but after that of aristocracy were those "first men" who sought to divide the boundaries these same countries from that of the Carians which lay opposite, or did the latter have a notion merely of Caria, and of Caria and a bit of territory that is contiguous thereto, without having, in like manner, a notion of Europe or Asia, or of Libya, whereas the men of aristocracy went further over what was enough of the earth to suggest the notion of the inhabited world—are these the men, I say, who made the division into three parts? If so great, could they have failed to make a division? And when upon opening of three parts embracing each of the parts a continent, does not at the same time have a notion of the number of which he makes his division into parts? But suppose he does not have a notion of the inhabited world, but should make his division of some part of it—of what part of the inhabited world, I ask, would anyone have said Asia

Ἀσίας ἢ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἢ ὅλως ἡπειρον: ταῦτα γὰρ εἴρηται παχυμερῶς.

Β. Ἐτι δὲ παχυμερέστερον τὸ φήσαντα μὴ ὁρᾶν, εἰς τί πραγματικὸν κατασιρέφει τὸ τοὺς ὄρους ζητεῖν, παραθεῖναι τὸν Ἰολυττὴν καὶ τὴν Μελίτην, εἰτ' εἰς τὰναντία περιτρέπεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ οἱ περὶ Θυρέων καὶ Ἰερωποῦ πολεμοὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν ὄρων ἀγνοίας ἀπέβησαν, εἰς πραγματικὸν τι καταστρέφον τὸ διαχωρίζειν τὰς χώρας· ἢ τοῦτο λέγει, ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν χωρίων, καὶ νῦν Διὰ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστα ἔθνῶν πραγματικὸν τὸ διορίζειν ἀκριβῶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἡπειρῶν περιττόν; καὶ τοὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἦττον οὐδὲν· γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡγεμόσι μεγάλαις ἀμφισβητήσεσι, τῷ μὲν ἔχοντι τὴν Ἀσίαν, τῷ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην, ὅποτέρου δὴ<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶν ἡ Αἰγύπτου δηλονότι ἢ κύττω λεγομένη τῆς Αἰγύπτου χώρα. καθ' ἑαση<sup>2</sup> δὲ τις τοῦτο διὰ τὸ σπάνιον, ἄλλως φατέον διαιρεῖσθαι τὰς ἡπείρους κατὰ μέγαν διορισμὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἀναφερομένον· καθ' ὃν οὐδε τοῦτον φροντιστέον, εἰ οἱ τοῖς ποταμοῖς διορίσαντες ἀπολειπουσὶ τίνα χωρία ἀδιοριστα, τῶν ποταμῶν μὴ μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ διηκόντων, μηδὲ<sup>3</sup> νήσοις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπολειπόντων τὰς ἡπείρους.

Γ. Ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τοῦ ὑπομνηματος οὐκ ἐπαμύνας τοὺς διχα διαιρούντας ἅπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώ-

<sup>1</sup> δὴ, Meineke, for εἰ.

<sup>2</sup> καθ' ἑαση, for κατὰς, Paetz, Forbiger, Meineke, following.

<sup>3</sup> μηδὲ for τὰς μὲν δὴ, Cotta & Grosseval; Meineke, Forbiger, following; Kramer, O. Müller, suspecting.

was a part, or Europe or a continent in general? — Indeed these points of his have been crudely stated.

8. Still cruder is it after he has said that he does not see what practical result there can be to the investigation of the boundaries, to cite Egyptus and Meotis and then turn round to the opposite side of the question. For if the wars about Nileus and Oropus resulted through ignorance of the boundaries, then the separation of countries by boundaries is a thing that results in something practical. Or does Eratosthenes mean this, that in the case of the districts and of course of the several nations it is practical to divide them by accurate boundaries, whereas in case of the continents it is superfluous? And yet, I answer, not even here is it any the less practical, for there might arise also in case of the continents a controversy between great rulers, for example one ruler who held Asia and another who held Libya, as to which one of them really owned Egypt, that is to say, the so-called "Lower" country of Egypt. Moreover if anyone assumes the example on account of its rarity at all events it must be said that the continents are divided according to a process of grand division which also has relation to the whole inhabited world. In following that principle of division we must not worry about this point, either namely that those who have made the rivers the dividing lines leave certain districts without dividing lines, because the rivers do not reach all the way to the ocean and so do not really leave the continents as islands.

9. Now, towards the end of his treatise after witholding praise from those who divide the whole multitude of mankind into two groups, namely,

πων πλῆθος εἰς τε Ἑλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους, καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραινοῦντας τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησιν ὥς φίλοις χρῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βαρβύροις ὡς πολεμίοις, βέλτιον εἶναι φησιν ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ διαριεῖν ταῦτα. πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι κακοὺς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀστέιους, καθάπερ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Ἀριανούς, ἔτι δὲ Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους, οὕτω θαυμαστῶς πολιτευομένους. διόπερ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀμελήσαντα τῶν παραινούντων, ὅσους οἶόν τ' ἦν ἀποδέχεσθαι τῶν εὐδοκίμων ἀνδρῶν καὶ εὐεργετεῖν ὥσπερ δι' ἄλλο τι τῶν οὕτω διελόντων, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ψόγῳ τοὺς δ' ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τιθεμένων, ἥ διότι τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρατεῖ τὸ νόμιμον καὶ τὸ πολιτικόν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ παιδείας καὶ λόγων οἰκείον, τοῖς δὲ τὰναντία. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὖν, οὐκ ἀμελήσας τῶν παραινούντων ἀλλ' ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν γνώμην, τὰ ἀκόλουθα, οὗ τὰ ἐναντία, ἐποιεῖ, πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν σκοπῶν τὴν τῶν ἐπεσταλκότητων.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ πολιτικόν, omitted by Kramm, and also by Meineke, Dübner-Müller, and Tardieu.

Greeks and Barbarians, and also from those who advised Alexander to treat the Greeks as friends but the Barbarians as enemies—Eratosthenes goes on to say that it would be better to make such divisions according to good qualities and bad qualities; for not only are many of the Greeks bad, but many of the Barbarians are refined—Indians and Arians, for example, and, further, Romans and Carthaginians, who carry on their governments so admirably. And this, he says, is the reason why Alexander, disregarding his advisers, welcomed as many as he could of the men of fair repute and did them favours—just as if those who have made such a division, placing some people in the category of censure, others in that of praise, did so for any other reason than that in some people there prevail the law abiding and the political instinct, and the qualities associated with education and powers of speech, whereas in other people the opposite characteristics prevail. And so Alexander, not disregarding his advisers, but rather accepting their opinion, did what was consistent with, not contrary to, their advice, for he had regard to the real intent of those who gave him counsel.



## BOOK II



# Β'

## I

1. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν γεωγραφικῶν καθιστάμενος τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης πίνακα γραμμῇ τινι διαιρεῖ δίχα ἀπὸ δυσσεως ἐκ' ἀνατολῆς παραλλήλῃ τῇ ἰσημερινῇ γραμμῇ. περὰ ταῦτ' αὐτῆς τιθεῖσι πρὸς δυσσεὶ μὲν τὰς Ἰβρακελείους στίλας, ἐπ' ἀνατολῇ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἐσχάτα ὄρη τῶν ἄφοριζοντων ὁρῶν τὴν πρὸς ἄρκτον τῆς Ἰνδικτῆς πλευρὰν. γραφεὶ δὲ τὴν γραμμὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν διὰ τε τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν ἄκρων τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς Ἀιτικῆς, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ῥοδίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰσσημικοῦ κόλπου. μέχρι μὲν δὲ δεῦρο διὰ τῆς θαλάττης φησὶν εἶναι τὴν λεχθεῖσαν γραμμὴν καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων ἡπείρων (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὄλην τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάτταν οὕτως ἐπὶ μῆκος τετάσθαι μέχρι τῆς Κελικίας), εἰτα ἐπ' εὐθείας πρὸς ἐκβυλλεσθαι παρ' ὄλην τὴν ὄρεινιν τοῦ Ταυροῦ μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικτῆς· τὸν γὰρ Ταῦρον ἐπ' εὐθείας τῇ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν θαλάττῃ τεταμένον δίχα τὴν Ἀσίαν διαιρεῖν ὄλην ἐπὶ μῆκος, τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς μέρος βορειὸν ποιοῦντα, τὸ δὲ νότιον εἰς ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δι' Ἀθηνῶν ἰδρῦσθαι παραλλήλῳ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι δεῦρο θαλάτταν

<sup>1</sup> In Ἀθηνῶν, Κρατατος, loc. cit. citatur, see note 2, page 240.

## BOOK II

### I

1 IN the Third Book of his Geography Eratosthenes, in establishing the map of the inhabited world, divides it into two parts by a line drawn from west to east, parallel to the equatorial line, and at ends of this line he takes, on the west, the Pillars of Heracles, on the east, the capes and most remote peaks of the mountain-chain that forms the northern boundary of India. He draws the line from the Pillars through the Strait of Sicily and also through the southern capes both of the Peloponnesus and of Attica, and as far as Rhodes and the Gulf of Issus. Up to this point, then, he says, the said line runs through the sea and the adjacent continents (and indeed our whole Mediterranean Sea itself extends, lengthwise, along this line as far as Cilicia); then the line is produced in an approximately straight course along the whole Taurus Range as far as India, for the Taurus stretches in a straight course with the sea that begins at the Pillars, and divides all Asia lengthwise into two parts, thus making one part of it northern, the other southern, so that in like manner both the Taurus and the Sea from the Pillars up to the Taurus lie on the parallel of Athens.

2 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν οἴεται δεῖν διορθῶσαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα. πολὺ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους παραλλύττειν τὰ ἰσθινὰ μέρη τῶν ὁρῶν κατ' αὐτὸν, συναπισπῶσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀρκτικωτέραν ἢ ἑκὶ' ἡνωμένην. πίστιν δὲ τοῦτου φέρει μίαν μὲν τοιαύτην, ὅτι τὰ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἄκρα τὰ μεσημβρινωτάτα ὁμολογοῦσι πολλοὶ τοῖς κατὰ ἡερην ἀνταίρειν τόποις, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἡέρων καὶ τῶν ουρανίων τεκμαιρόμενοι, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ βορειότατα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ πρὸς τοῖς Καυκασίοις ὄρεσι Πατροκλῆς, ὁ μελιστα πιστεύεσθαι δίκαιος δια τε τὸ ἕξιωμα καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰδιωτῆς εἶναι τῶν γεωγραφικῶν, φασὶ σταδίους μυριοὺς καὶ πεντακισχιλίους<sup>1</sup> ἄλλα μὲν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Μερῆς ἐπὶ τὸν δι' Ἀθηνῶν ταριῤἥλλον τοσοῦτον πως ἔστιν, ὥστε τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ προσηρκτὰ μέρη συνιέποντα τοῖς Καυκασίοις ὄρεσιν εἰς τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν κύκλον.

3. Ἄλλην δὲ πίστιν φέρει τοιαύτην, ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσσμικοῦ κόλπου ἑισσῆμα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὴν Ποντικὴν τρισχιλίων πως ἔστι σταδίων πρὸς ἄρκτον ἰόντι καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀμισοῦ ἢ Σινωπῆς τόπους, ὅσον καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῶν ὁρῶν λέγεται· ἐκ δὲ Ἀμισοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἰσημερινὴν ἀνατολὴν φερόμενον πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Κολχικὴ ἔστιν, ἔπειτα ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Τρεκίαν θάλατταν ὑπερβῆσαι καὶ ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἡ ἐπὶ Βακτρα καὶ τοὺς ἐπακείνους Σκυθίας

<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἑξ, Orosius, for 484.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word meaning "rise opposite to", which Strabo often uses, following Kratosthenes, apparently contains the idea of "lie on the same parallel with the equator."

2. After Zoroaster has said that, he thinks he must needs make a complete revision of the early geographical map. For, according to it he says the eastern extremity of the mountainous tract runs away towards the north and India itself is torn up along with it and comes to occupy a more northern position than it should. As proof of this he offers, first, an argument to this effect: the most southern slopes of India run opposite to the regions about Meroë as many writers agree, who judge both from the climatic conditions and from the cultural phenomena and from the ropes on to the most southern regions of India at the Caucasus Mountains. Ptolemy is a man who has just what right to our confidence both on account of his worthiness of character and on account of his being so learned in geographical matters: and the distance is fifteen thousand stadia. As to the case the distance from Meroë to the point of the Caucasus is about that distance, and therefore the southern parts of India, since they are the Caucasus Mountains, come to an end in this parallel.

3. Another proof which he offers is to this effect: the distance from the land of Indus to the Pontus has is about five thousand stadia. If you go towards the north and the regions round about Araxes and Sinope a distance as great as that which is also assigned to the breadth of the mountains and from Araxes you bear towards the equatorial current, you come first to the Caspian and then you come to the passage which takes you over to the Hircanian<sup>1</sup> Sea, and so the road next in order that leads to Bactra

<sup>1</sup> The Indian Ocean, now Hindu Kush.

<sup>2</sup> Caspian.

ὁδὸς δεξιὰ ἔχοντι τὰ ὄρη· αὕτη δ' ἡ γραμμὴ διὰ Ἀμισοῦ πρὸς δυσὶν ἐμβαλλομένη διὰ τῆς Ἱεροποντιδος ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἀπὸ δὲ Μερόης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον αὐτὴ πλείους εἰσι τῶν μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων, ὅσοι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ πλευροῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πρὸς τὰ περὶ τοὺς Βακτρίους μέρη, προστιθεντων τρισχιλίων τοῖς μυρίοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, ὧν οἱ μὲν τοῦ πλατους ἦσαν τῶν ὁρῶν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς.

C 69 4. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀποφασιν ταύτην ὁ Ἰππάρχος ἀντιλέγει διαβαλλων τὰς πίστεις· αὐτὸς γάρ Πατροκλέα πιστὸν εἶναι, δυνεῖν ἀντιμαρτυροῦντων αὐτῷ Διημιχόν τε καὶ Μεγασθένην, οἱ καθ' οὓς μὲν τόπους δις μυρίων εἶναι σταδίων τὸ διάστημα φασὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ μεσημβρίαν θαλάττης, καθ' οὓς δὲ καὶ τρις μυρίων· τοῦτους γὰρ δὴ τοιαῦτα λεγείν, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πίνακας τοῦτοις ὁμολογεῖν. ἀπίθανον δὲ πού νομίζει τὸ μόνον δεῖν πιστεύειν Πατροκλεῖ, παρίντας τοὺς τοσούτον ἀντιμαρτυροῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ διορθοῦσθαι παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πίνακας, ἀλλὰ μὴ εἶναι οὕτως, ὥς ἂν τι πισυτερον περὶ αὐτῶν γινώμεν.

5. Οἶμαι δὲ πολλὰς ἔχειν εὐθύναις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πολλαῖς μαρτυρίαις ἐκείνου χρησαμένου, μὴ φησι τῇ Πατροκλεοῦ αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ φασκοντες τὰ μεσημβρινὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀνταίρειν τοῖς κατὰ Μερόην, τίνες δ' οἱ τὸ ἀπὸ Μερόης διάστημα μέχρι τοῦ δι' Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου τοσούτον

and to the Scythians on beyond, keeping the mountains on your right, and this line extended through the mountains westwards runs through the Paropamisadae and the Himantus, and from there to the Himalayas is not more than eighteen thousand stadia, a distance as great as that from the southern side of India to the parts round about the Himalayas. If we added three thousand stadia to the fifteen thousand some of which is equal to the breadth of the mountains, the others to that of India.

4. As for the declaration of Herodotus, Hipparchus contradicts it by showing discredit in the proofs. In the first place, says he, Ptolemy is not trustworthy, since we may bear testimony against him, but Demetrius and Megasthenes who say that in some places the distance from the southern end is twenty thousand stadia and in other places even thirty thousand, so these two men, at least, make such a statement, and we early men agree with them. It is an horrible thing of which he thinks that we have to trust Ptolemy as a man, in disregard of those whose testimony is so strong against him and to correct the error made through out as regards the very point at issue, instead of leaving them as they are until we have more trust worthy testimony about them.

5. Now I think this reasoning of Hipparchus is open to refutation on many grounds. In the first place, although Ptolemy has used many testimonies, he says that Ptolemy has used only one, that of Ptolemy. Who pray were the men who affirmed that the southern coasts of India were opposite the regions of Meru? And who the men that said the distance from Meru up to the parallels of Athens

λέγοντες, τίνες δὲ πάλιν οἱ τὸ τῶν ὁρῶν πλάτος, ἢ οἱ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμισὸν τὸ αὐτὸ τούτῳ λέγοντες, τίνες δὲ οἱ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἀμισοῦ διὰ Κόλχων καὶ τῆς Ἑρκανίας μέχρι Βακτρῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα εἰς τὴν ἐφ' ἧν θάλατταν καθηκόντων ἐπ' εὐθείας τε εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ ἐπ' ἰσημερινὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ παρὰ τὰ ὄρη ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντι αὐτά, ἢ πάλιν τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν ἐπ' εὐθείας ταύτῃ τῇ γραμμῇ, διότι ἐπὶ τὴν Προποντίδα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Ἑρατοσθένης λαμβάνει πάντα ὡς καὶ ἐκμαρτυρούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις γενομένων, ἐτυτυχηκῶς ὑπομνήμασι πολλοῖς, ὧν εὐπόρει βιβλιοθήκην ἔχων τηλικαύτην ἡλικίην αὐτὸς Ἰππαρχὸς φησι.

6. Καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Πατροκλέους πίστις ἐκ πολλῶν μαρτυριῶν σύγκειται, τῶν βασιλέων τῶν πεπιστευκότων αὐτῷ τηλικαύτην ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐπακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ, τῶν ἀντιδοξούντων, ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰππαρχος κατονομάζει· οἱ γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνων ἐλεγχοὶ πίστεως τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου λεγομένων εἰσὶν. οὐδὲ τοῦτο δὲ ἀπίθανον τοῦ Πατροκλέους, ὅτι φησὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συστρατεύσαντας ἐπιδρομάδην ἱστορῆσαι ἕκαστα, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκριβῶσαι, ἀναγραφάντων τὴν ὅλην χώραν τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων αὐτῷ· τὴν δ' ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ, Corais, for περί; Orsakerd, Forbiger, Muenke following.

was such a distance? And who again, the men that gave the breadth of the Taurus Mountains, or the men that rated the distance from there to the Armenians the same as that of its breadth? And who said as regards the distance from Armenia through Cilicia and Hierapolis up to Bactria and through the regions beyond Bactria northward down to the Caspian sea, that it was in a straight line and toward the equatorial east and that it was alongside the mountain which you keep on your right-hand? Or again, as regards the distance towards the west in a straight course with the sea, that it was towards the Perseus and the Hebræus? Why further, thence take all these as measures actually established by the testimony of the men who had been in the regions for he has read many historical treatises with which he was well supplied; he had a library as large as Hipparchus's was.<sup>1</sup>

6 Further the trustworthiness of Ptolemy (itself, rests upon many testimonies I refer to the Kings<sup>2</sup> who had entrusted to him many important offices, to the men who followed him to the men who opposed him, whom Hipparchus himself names for the tests in which these men are suspected are but proofs of the statements of Ptolemy. Neither does this statement of Ptolemy lack plausibility namely that those who made the expedition with Alexander acquired only a very incomplete and about everything out Alexander himself made accurate investigations, since the men first acquainted with the country not described the whole of it for him, and the description was later promoted to

<sup>1</sup> The library at Alexandria.

<sup>2</sup> Seleucus I. and Antiochus I.



δοθῆναι φησιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ  
γαζοφύλακος.

7 Ἐτι φησὶν ὁ Ἱππαρχος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ὑπο-  
μνήματι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἐρατοσθένη διαβαλλεῖν τὴν  
τοῦ Πατροκλέους πίστιν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Μεγασθένη  
διαφωνίας περὶ τοῦ μήκου τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τοῦ κατὰ  
τὸ βορειὸν πλευρόν, τοῦ μὲν Μεγασθένους λέ-  
γοντος σταδίων μυρίων ἑξακισχιλίων, τοῦ δὲ  
Πατροκλέους χιλίους λείπειν φαιμένου· ἀπο γάρ  
C 70 ἀπιστεῖν διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν, ἐκείνη δὲ προσέχειν.  
εἰ οὖν διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν ἐνταῦθα ἀπιστος ὁ  
Πατροκλῆς, καίτοι παρὰ χιλίους σταδίους τῆς  
διαφορᾶς οὔσης, πόσω χρή μᾶλλον ἀπιστεῖν ἐν  
οἷς παρὰ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἡ διαφορὰ ἐστὶ, πρὸς  
δύο καὶ ταῦτα ἄνδρας συμφωνοῦντας ἀλλήλοις,  
τῶν μὲν λεγόντων τὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλάτος δισμυ-  
ρίων σταδίων, τοῦ δὲ μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων,

8. Ἐροῦμεν δ' ὅτι οὐ ψιλὴν τὴν διαφωνίαν  
ῥητέατο, ἀλλὰ συγκρίνων πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν  
καὶ τὴν ἀξιοπιστίαν τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν σταθμῶν.  
οὐ θαυμαστὸν δέ, εἰ πιστοῦ γίνεται τι πιστότερον,  
καὶ εἰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν ἑτέροις μὲν πιστεύομεν, ἐν  
ἑτέροις δ' ἀπιστοῦμεν, ὅταν παρὰ τινος τεθῇ τι  
βεβαιότερον. γελοῖόν τε τὸ τὴν παρὰ πολὺ  
διαφωνίαν ἀπιστοτέρους ποιεῖν νομίσαι τοὺς

Patrocles as Patrocles says; by Xenocles, Alexander's treasurer.

7. If marches further on, in his Second Book, that Eratosthenes himself throws discredit on the trustworthiness of Patrocles, it consequence of Patrocles' disagreement with Megasthenes about the length of India on its northern side which Megasthenes calls six thousand stadia, whereas Patrocles affirms that it is a thousand more of that. For, having started from a certain "literary" as basis, Eratosthenes distrusts latter of these account of the length of the river and holds to the "literary." If then were Hipparchus, Patrocles is not trustworthy on account of the disagreement at that point, although the discrepancy is only a matter of a thousand stadia, how much more should we distrust him where the discrepancy is a matter of eight thousand stadia, as against two thousand, and that the men who agree with one another for both of them call the breadth of India twenty thousand stadia, whereas Patrocles calls it twelve thousand?

8. My answer will be that it was not the bare disagreement with Megasthenes that Eratosthenes found fault with but we found fault when he compared their disagreement with the harmony and trustworthiness of the "literary." Yet we should not be surprised if one thing proves to be more trustworthy than another trustworthy thing, and if we trust the more man in some things but distrust him in others, whatever greater certainty has been established from some other source. Again it is ridiculous to think that the amount by which the authorities disagree makes the parties to the disagreement less trustworthy. Why, on

διαφωροῦντας· τὸν ναυτίον γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν συμβαίνειν τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἔοικε, παρὰ μικρὸν γὰρ ἢ πλάτῃ συμβαίνει μᾶλλον, οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλέον τι τῶν ἐτέρων φρονοῦσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρὰ πολὺ ὁ μὲν τυχῶν ἀμάρτοι ἂν, ὁ δ' ἐπιστημονικώτερος ἦττον ἂν τοῦτο πάθοι· διὸ καὶ πιστεύεται θάττον.

9. Ἄπαντες μὲν τοίνυν οἱ περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς γράψαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ψευδολόγοι γεγύνασι, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ Δημάχος· τὰ δὲ δεύτερα λέγει Μεγασθένης· Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι παραψελλίζοντες ἤδη· καὶ ἡμῖν δ' ὑπῆρξεν ἐπὶ πλέον κατιδεῖν ταῦτα, ὑπομνηματιζομένοις τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις· διαφερόντως δ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄξιον Δημάχῳ τε καὶ Μεγασθένει. αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τοὺς Ἑνωτοκόλτας καὶ τοὺς Ἀστόμους καὶ Ἀρρινας ἱστοροῦντες, Μονοφθάλμους τε καὶ Μακροσκελεῖς καὶ Ὀπισθοδακτύλους· ἀνεκαίνισαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν τῶν Πυγμαλίων γερανομαχίαν, τρισπιθάμους εἰπόντες. αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς χρυσορῦχους μύρμηκας καὶ Πάνας σφηνοκεφάλους ὄφεις τε καὶ βοῦς καὶ εὐλάφους σὺν κέρασι καταπίνοντας περὶ ὧν ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐλέγχει, ὕπερ καὶ Ἑρατοσθένης φησὶν.

<sup>1</sup> Which formed a part of Strabo's *Historical Sketches* (see footnote on page 48). Both Onesicritus and Nearchus accom-  
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the contrary, this is more likely to be the case where the matter of disagreement is slight, for if the matter of disagreement is but slight error is more likely to rest it not merely among ordinary writers, but even among writers who are somewhat superior to the other class, but where the matters of disagreement are considerable though the ordinary man would go as far the more scientific man would be less likely to do so, and for that reason he is more quickly trusted.

9 However all who have written about India have proved themselves, for the most part, fabricators, but preeminently so Demachus, the next in order is Megasthenes, and then, Dicaearchus, and Neactus, and other such writers, who begin to speak the truth though with faltering voice. I, too, had the privilege of noting this fact extensively when I was writing the "Deeds of Alexander." But especially do Demachus and Megasthenes deserve to be distasted for they are the persons who tell us about the "men that sleep in their ears," and the "men without mouths," and "men without noses," and about "men with one eye," "men with long legs," "men with fingers turned backward", and they record, also, the Homeric story of the battle between the cranes and the "pygmies," who, they said, were three spans tall. These men also tell about the ants that mow grass and Pans with wedge-shaped heads, and about snakes that swallow oxen and stags, horns and all, and in these matters the one refutes the other, as is stated by Eratosthenes also. For although they praised Alexander, Strabo admits to his own stay at the Alexandrian Library.

ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλλήμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Δηίμαχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην τὸν ἐκείνου υἱόν, κατὰ πρεσβίαν ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλειπον τοιαῦτα, ὑφ' ἧς δὴ ποτε αἰτίας προαχθέντες. Πατροκλῆς δὲ ἥκιστα τοιοῦτος· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ μάρτυρες οὐκ ἀπίθανοι, οἷς κέχρηται ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης.

10. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Βυζαντίου μεσημβρινὸς ὁρθῶς εἰληπται, καὶ ὁ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀμισοῦ ὁρθῶς ἂν εἴη εἰλημμένος· φαίνεται γὰρ τὸ παράλληλον ἐκ πολλῶν, ὅταν μηδετέρωσιν<sup>1</sup> σύμπτωσις ἀπελέγχηται.

11. Ὁ τε ἐξ Ἀμισοῦ πλοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν Κολχίδα ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἰσημερινὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐλέγχεται καὶ ὥραις καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς αὐταῖς· ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ὑπέρβασις καὶ ἡ ἐφεξῆς ὁδὸς μέχρι Βάκτρων, πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἡ ἐνύργεια καὶ τὸ ἐκ πάντων συμφαινόμενον ὄργανον πιστοτερόν ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰππαρχος τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι τῆς Κιλικίας γραμμὴν, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐπ' εὐθείας καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ ἰσημερινὴν ἀνατολήν, οὐ πᾶσαν

<sup>1</sup> μηδετέρωσιν, A. Miller, for μηδετέρως ἢ.

<sup>1</sup> Scholars have agreed that something has fallen out of the main script; but the assumption is unnecessary. Strabo here recurs to "the second argument" of Eratosthenes, which was introduced as far back as § 3, and the connection is not at once apparent, but he has just referred to the credibility of "the other witnesses," and, clearly, it was

were sent on an ambassadorial mission to Pálímbothra (Megasthenes to Sandrocttus, Deimachus to Allitrochades the son of Sandrocttus), still, as memoirs of their stay abroad, they have left behind such writings as these, being prompted to do so by 'I know not what cause'.<sup>1</sup> Patrocles, however, is by no means that sort of man. And also the other witnesses whom Eratosthenes has used are not lacking in credibility.

10.<sup>1</sup> For instance, if the meridian through Rhodes and Byzantium has been correctly drawn, then that through Cilicia and Amisus will have been correctly drawn too, for from many considerations the parallel relation of lines is obvious whenever it is proved by test that there is no meeting in either direction.<sup>2</sup>

11 Again, that the voyage from Amisus to Colchis lies in the direction of the equinoctial east<sup>3</sup> is proved by the winds, by the seasons, by the crops, and by the risings of the sun themselves, and thus, in the same way, both the pass that leads over to the Caspian Sea and the road from there on to Bactra. For in many cases the way things appear to the sight and the agreement of all the testimony are more trustworthy than an instrument.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, even the same Hipparchus, in taking the line from the Pillars on to Cilicia to be in a straight course and to be in the direction of the equinoctial east, did

upon "the other witnesses" that Eratosthenes based that "second argument," as is indicated in § 5. Strabo then proceeds, in § 10, to illustrate the credibility of those witnesses by defending Eratosthenes on points wherein they were involved.

<sup>1</sup> An echo from Greek geometry.

<sup>2</sup> That is, due east.

<sup>3</sup> Compare § 25 (below).

ὀργανικῶς καὶ γεωμετρικῶς ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ὀληντὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι πορθμοῦ τοῖς πλείουσιν ἐπίστευσεν, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο<sup>1</sup> εὖ λέγει τὸ<sup>2</sup> "ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν λέγειν οὐθ' ἡμέρας μεγίστης πρὸς τὴν βραχυτάτην λόγον οὔτε γνωμονος πρὸς σκιὰν ἐπὶ τῇ παρωρείᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ Κιλικίας μέχρι<sup>3</sup> Ἰνδῶν, οὐδ' εἰ ἐπὶ παραλλήλου γραμμῆς ἐστὶν ἡ λόξωσις, ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔαν ἀδιόρθωτον, λοξὴν φυλίξαντες, ὥς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι πίνακες παρέχουσι<sup>4</sup>," πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ταυτόν ἐστι τῷ ἐπέχειν, ὃ δ' ἐπέχων οὐδ' ἑτέρωσα ῥέπει, ἔαν δὲ κελεύων, ὥς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, ἐκείσε ῥέπει, μᾶλλον δ' ἂν τὰκόλουθον ἐφύλαττεν, εἰ συνεβούλευε μηδὲ γεωγραφεῖν ὅλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρῶν τὰς θέσεις, οἷον Ἀλπεων καὶ τῶν Πυρηναιῶν καὶ τῶν Θρακίων καὶ Ἰλλυρικῶν καὶ Γερμανικῶν, οὕτως ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν. τίς δ' ἂν ἡγήσατο πιστοτέρους τῶν ὕστερον τοὺς παλαιούς τοσαῦτα πλημμελήσαντας περὶ τὴν πινακογραφίαν, ὅσα εὖ<sup>5</sup> διαβέβληκεν Ἐρατοσθένης, ὧν οὐδενὶ ἀντήρηνεν Ἰππαρχος;

12. Καὶ τὰ ἔξης δὲ πλήρη μεγάλων ἀποριῶν ἐστίν. ὅρα γάρ, εἰ ταῦτα μὲν μὴ κινοῖη τις τὸ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἔκεῖνο, Bœtliger, for ἐκεῖνος; Coraue, Meineke, Dübner-Müller, Giesebrand, Forbiger, following.

<sup>2</sup> εὖ λέγει, τὸ Xylander, for εὐλογεῖτε; Meineke following.

<sup>3</sup> μέχρι, Meineke, for μέχρις.

<sup>4</sup> παρέχουσι, Kramer, for παρέχονσι, Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following.

<sup>5</sup> εὖ, Coraue, for εἰ; editors following.

not depend wholly on instruments and geometrical calculations but for the whole line from the Pyrenees on to the strait he trusted the sailors. So that this statement of his is not good either, where he says "Since we cannot tell either the relation of the longest day to the shortest or of gnomon to shadow, along the mountain-side that runs from Liguria on to India, neither can we say whether the slant of the mountains lies in a parallel line,"<sup>1</sup> but we must leave the line uncorrected keeping it slant as the early maps give it. For, in the first place, "cannot tell" is the same thing as to withhold opinion, and the man who withholds opinion also inclines to neither side, but when Hipparchus bids us leave the line as the ancients give it, he inclines to that side. Rather would he be "keeping" the consistent course, if he also advised us not to treat geography at all for we "cannot tell" in that way<sup>2</sup> the positions of the other mountains either for instance, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Thracian the Libyan, and the German Mountains. But who would think the early geographers more trustworthy than those of later times since in their map-drawing the ancients made as many blunders that Eratosthenes has rightly accused them of and not one of these blunders has been objected to by Hipparchus?

12 Again, the next remarks of Hipparchus are full of great difficulties. For example, see how many absurdities would arise if one should not disallow the

<sup>1</sup> Of Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> That is, whether the line of these mountains which in the early maps makes an acute angle to the north with a parallel of latitude, should be on a parallel. Compare § 11 (p. 10).

<sup>3</sup> That is, by instruments and geometrical calculations.



ἄκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ μεσημβρινὰ ἀνταίρειν τοῖς  
κατὰ Μερόην, μηδὲ τὸ διώστημα τὸ ἀπὸ Μερόης  
ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ κατὰ τὸ Βυζαντιον, ὅτι ἐστὶ περὶ  
μυρίους σταδίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ποιοίη δὲ  
τρισμυρίων τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν Ἰνδῶν  
μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων, ὅσα ἂν συμβαίῃ ἄτοπα. τὸ  
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἶπερ ὁ αὐτός ἐστι παράλληλος ὁ  
διὰ Βυζαντιον τῇ διὰ Μασσαλίας (καθὼς περ  
εἶρηκεν Ἱππαρχος πιστεύσας Πλυθῆ), ὁ δ' αὐτος  
καὶ μεσημβρινός ἐστιν ὁ διὰ Βυζαντίου τῇ διὰ  
Βορυσθένους, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ δοκιμάζει ὁ Ἱππαρχος,  
δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου διάστημα ἐπὶ  
τὸν Βορυσθένη σταδίους εἶναι τρισχιλίους ἑπτα-  
C 72 κοσίους, ποσοῦτοι ἂν εἴεν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας  
ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ Βορυσθένους παράλληλον, ὅς γ' ἐστὶν  
τῆς Κελτικῆς παρωικανίτιδος ἂν εἴη τοσοῦτον  
γὰρ πως διαλθόντες συνάπτουσι τῷ ὠκεανῷ.

13. Πάλιν δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν Κινναμωμοφόρον ἐσχάτην  
Ἰσμεν οἰκουμένην πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, καὶ καθ'  
Ἱππαρχον αὐτὸν ὁ δι' αὐτῆς παράλληλος ἀρχὴ  
τῆς εὐκράτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστί, καὶ διέχει  
τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ὀκτα-  
κοσίους σταδίους ἐπεὶ οὖν φησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
ἰσημερινοῦ τὸν διὰ Βορυσθένους διέχειν τρισ-  
μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους, εἴεν ἂν  
λοιποὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος τὴν διακεκαυμένην

<sup>1</sup> See footnote on page 264.

statement that the southern capes of India rise opposite to<sup>1</sup> the regions of Meroë, or the statement that the distance from Meroë to the mouth of the strait at Byzantium is about eighteen thousand stadia, but yet should make the distance from Southern India to the mountains thirty thousand stadia. Why, in the first place, if it be true that the parallel which runs through Byzantium is the same as that which runs through Mass.<sup>2</sup> as Hipparchus has stated on the authority of Pytheas, and that the meridian which runs through Byzantium is the same as that through the Borythenes<sup>3</sup>—which very thing, also Hipparchus approves— and if he also approves the statement that<sup>4</sup> the distance from Byzantium to the Borythenes is three thousand seven hundred stadia, then this last number would be the number of stadia from Mass.<sup>2</sup> to the parallel that runs through the Borythenes<sup>3</sup>, which parallel, of course, would run through the sea coast of Celtica, for on going about this number of stadia through Celtica you reach the ocean.<sup>5</sup>

13 Again, since the Cinnamon-producing Country is the most remote inhabited country towards the south as we know and since, according to Hipparchus himself, the parallel that runs through it is the beginning of the temperate zone and of the inhabited world and is distant from the equator about eight thousand eight hundred stadia— and further, since, as Hipparchus says, the parallel through the Borythenes is thirty-four thousand stadia distant from the equator, there would remain twenty

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus frequently refers to the mouth of the Borythenes as merely "Borythenes."

<sup>2</sup> That is, going toward the north.

καὶ τὴν εὐκρατον εἰς τὸν διὰ Βορυσθίνου καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς παρωκεανίτιδος σταδίοι δισμύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι διακόσιοι. ὁ δὲ γε ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον πλοῦς ἔσχατος λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νῦν ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰέρην, ἐπέκεινα μὲν οὖσαν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ἀθλίκος δὲ διὰ ψυχῆς οἰκουμένην, ὥστε τὰ ἐπέκεινα νομίζειν ἀοίκητα. οὐ πλεον δὲ τῆς Κελτικῆς τὴν Ἰέρην διαχεῖν φασὶ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, ὥστε περι τρισμυρίου εἶεν ἂν ἡ μικρῇ πλείους οἱ πάντες οἱ τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀφορίζοντες.

14. Φέρε δὲ τὴν ἀνταίρουσαν τῇ Κινναμμοφορῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου πρὸς βορραιομένην ὑπαβῶμων αὕτη δ' ἐστίν ἡ περὶ τὴν Ταπροβάνην ἡ δὲ Ταπροβάνη πεπίστευται σφοδρῶς, ὅτι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πρόκειται πελαγία μεγάλῃ νήσος πρὸς νότον· μηχανύεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν πλέον ἢ πεντακισχιλίους σταδίους, ὥς φασιν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἐλέφαντα κομίζεσθαι πολλὸν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐμπόρια καὶ χελωνεῖα<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἄλλον φόρτον. ταυτὴ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ πλείους πρὸς τεθῆναι τὸ ἀνάλογον τῇ μηκεί καὶ διαρμα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων σταδίων οὐκ ἂν ἔλαττον ποιήσῃ διώστημα, ὅσον ἦν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρου τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰς Μερόην, εἴπερ μέλλει τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀνταίρειν τῇ Μερόῃ· πιθανώτερον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων τιθέναι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο προσθεῖη τις τοῖς τρισμυριοις, οἷς φησιν

<sup>1</sup> χελάνια, Melpeke, ἢ χελόνια.

five thousand two hundred stadia for the distance from the parallel that divides the torrid from the temperate zone to the parallel that runs through the Bursthenes and the sea coast of Celtica. And yet the voyage from Celtica to the north is nowadays called the remotest voyage to the north, I mean the voyage to Ierne<sup>1</sup> which is and not only lies beyond Britain but is such a wretched place to live in on account of the cold that the regions on beyond are regarded as uninhabitable. And Ierne is not farther from Celtica, they say, than five thousand stadia. So that about thirty thousand stadia at least or perhaps a few more, would represent the breadth of the inhabited world.

16. Well, then, let us pass on to the country that rises opposite to the Cinnamon producing country and lies toward the east on the same parallel. This is the region about Taprobane<sup>2</sup>. We have strong assurance that Taprobane is a large island in the open sea, which lies off India to the north. It stretches lengthwise in the direction of Ethiopia for more than five thousand stadia, as they say, and from it, they say, much ivory is brought to the markets of India, and also tortoise shell and other merchandise. Now if we assign to this island a breadth that is proportional to its length, and if we add thereto the expanse of the sea between it and India, the sum would be a distance of not less than three thousand stadia as much as the distance from the border of the inhabited world to Meroë—that is, if the capes of India are to rise opposite to Meroë, but it is more plausible to set down still more than three thousand stadia. So if you should add these three thousand

<sup>1</sup> Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Ceylon.

ὁ Διήμαχος μέχρι τῆς εἰς Βακτρίους καὶ Σογδι-  
 ανοὺς ὑπερθεσεως, ἐκπέσει ἂν πάντα ταῦτα τὰ  
 ἔθνη τῆς οἰκομένης καὶ τῆς εὐκράτου. τίς ἂν οὖν  
 θαρρήσειε ταῦτα λέγειν, ἀκούων καὶ τῶν πάλαι  
 καὶ τῶν νῦν τὴν εὐκράσιαν καὶ τὴν εὐκαρπίαν  
 λεγόντων πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τῶν προσβόρων  
 Ἰνδῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἑρκανίᾳ καὶ τῇ  
 Ἑρμιᾷ καὶ ἐφεξῆς τῇ τε Μαργιανῇ καὶ τῇ Βακ-  
 τριανῇ, ἀπασαι γὰρ αὗται προσεχεῖς μὲν εἰσι  
 O 73 τῇ βορείῳ πλευρῇ τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ ἥ γε Βακ-  
 τριανὴ καὶ πλησιάζει τῇ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ὑπερθέσει,  
 τοσαύτῃ δ' εὐδαιμονίᾳ κέχρηται, ὥστε πάνπολύ  
 τι ἀπέχειν τῆς ἀοικήτου. ἐν μὲν γε τῇ Ἑρκανίᾳ  
 τὴν ἀμπέλον μετρητὴν οἴνου φερειν φασί, τὴν  
 δὲ συκῆν μεδίμνους ἐξηκοντα, τὸν δὲ σίτον ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἐκπεσοντος καρποῦ τῆς καλᾶμης πάλιν  
 φύεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δένδροις σμηνουργεῖσθαι  
 καὶ τῶν φύλλον ἀπορρεῖν μέλι, ὅπερ γίνεσθαι  
 μὲν καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἐν τῇ Ματιανῇ καὶ τῆς  
 Ἀρμενίας ἐν τῇ Σακασηνῇ καὶ τῇ Ἀραξηνῇ.  
 ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἐπ' ἰσῆς θαυμαστόν,  
 εἴπερ εἰσι νοτιώτεραι τῆς Ἑρκανίας, καὶ εὐκράσιᾳ  
 διαφέρουσαι τῆς ἄλλης χώρας· ἐκεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον.  
 ἐν δὲ τῇ Μαργιανῇ τὸν πυθμένα φασὶν εὐρί-  
 σκεσθαι τῆς ἀμπέλου πολλάκις δυεῖν ἀνδρῶν  
 ὀργυιαῖς περιληπτόν, τὸν δὲ βότρυν δίπηχυν.  
 παραπλησίαν δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὴν Ἀρίαν, εὐσινίᾳ

stadia to the thirty thousand stadia which Detnaches gives as the distance to the pass that leads over to Bactriana and Sogdiana, then all these peoples would fall outside the inhabited world and the temperate zone. Who, pray, would venture to maintain this, when he hears men of both ancient and modern times telling about the mild climate and the fertility, first of Northern India, and then of Hyrcania and Aria, and, next in order, of Margiana and Bactriana? For although all these countries lie next to the northern side of the Taurus Range, and although Bactriana, at least, lies close to the pass that leads over to India, still they enjoy such a happy lot that they must be a very long way off from the sun-baked side part of the earth. In Hyrcania, at any rate they say that the vine produces one metretres<sup>1</sup> of wine, the fig tree sixty modum<sup>2</sup> of figs, the wheat grows again from the waste seed of the stubble field, bees have their hives in the trees, and honey drips from the leaves, and this is also true of Maracana, a province of Media, and of Sacavene and of Arasene districts of Armenia. But in the case of the latter districts this is not equally amazing, if it be true that they lie further south than Hyrcania, and are superior to the rest of the country in mildness of climate, but in the case of Hyrcania it is more amazing. And in Margiana, they say, it is oftentimes found that the trunk of the grape vine can be encircled only by the outstretched arms of two men, and that the cluster of grapes is two cubits long. And they say that Aria also is similar, but that it even excels in good

<sup>1</sup> A little less than nine gallons.

<sup>2</sup> The modum was about a bushel and a half.

δὲ καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν, ἐν ᾗ γε καὶ εἰς τριγωνίαν<sup>1</sup> παραμένειν ἐν ἀπίκτωτοις ἀγῆσει τὸν οἶνον πύμφορον ὅς εἶναι καὶ τὴν Βακτριανὴν πλὴν ἐλαίου, πλησίον τῇ Ἀρίᾳ παρακειμένην.

15. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ψυχρὰ μέρη τῶν τοπῶν τούτων ἐστί, ὅσα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ὄρεινά, οὐδὲν δεῖ θαυμάζειν καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μεσημβρινοῖς κλιμασι τὰ ὄρη ψυχρὰ ἐστί, καὶ καθόλου τὰ μετεωρα ἐδάφη, καὶ πεδία ᾗ. τῆς γοῦν Καππαδοκίας τὰ πρὸς τῇ Εὐξεινῇ πολὺ βορειοτερά ἐστί τῶν πρὸς τῇ Ταύρῳ· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Βαγαδαοία,<sup>2</sup> πεδιον ἐξαίσιον μεταξὺ πίπτου τοῦ τε Ἀργαίου ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Ταυρον, σπυμιον εἰ ποῦ τι τῶν καρπύμων δένδρων φύει, καίπερ νοτιωτέρον τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλαττῆς σταδίους τρισχίλιον, τὰ δὲ τῆς Σινώκης προαστεία καὶ τῆς Ἀμισοῦ καὶ τῆς Φαναροίας τὸ πλεον ἐλαιόφυτά ἐστί. καὶ τὸν Ὀξον δὲ τὸν ὀρίζοντα τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σογδιανῆς οὕτω φασὶν εὐπλοὺν εἶναι, ὥστε τὸν Ἰνδικὸν φορτὸν ὑπερκομισθέντα εἰς αὐτὸν ῥαδίως εἰς τὴν Ἑρκαιαν κατὰγεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τόπους μέχρι τοῦ Πόντου διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν.

16. Τιν' ἂν οὖν τοιαύτην εὐροὶ εὐδαμονίαν περὶ Βορυσθεῆν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν παρὰ Κανίτιν, ὅπου μὴδὲ φύεται ἀμπέλوس ἢ μὴ τελεσφορεῖ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς νοτιωτέροις τούτων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τριγωνίαν, Cobet, for τριγώνιον, Bernadakis, Casaubon, approving.

<sup>2</sup> Βαγαδαοία, Casaubon, for Βαγαδαία; Cornis following; W. M. Barrett approving.

vintage, since there, at all events, the wine actually keeps for three generations in unpitched casks, and that Bactriana too, which lies on the border of Aria, produces everything except olive-oil.

15 But if all the parts of these regions that are high and mountainous are also cold, we should not be amazed for even in the southern latitudes the mountains are cold, and in general all high-lying lands, even if they be plateaux, are cold. At any rate, in Cappadocia the regions next to the Euxine are much farther north than those next to the Taurus, but Bagadacenia, an enormous plain which falls between the Argæus Mountain<sup>1</sup> and the Taurus Range, only scantily (if anywhere) produces fruit-trees, although it is three thousand stadia farther south than the Pontic Sea, whereas the suburbs of Siope and Amisus and the greater part of Phanæroea are planted with olive-trees. And further, the River Oxus, which divides Bactriana from Sordiana, is so easily navigable, they say, that the Indian merchandise packed over the mountains to it is easily brought down to the Hyrcanian Sea, and thence, on the rivers, to the successive regions beyond as far as the Pontus<sup>2</sup>.

16. Now what comparable blessings of nature can you find round about the Borysthenes or in the part of Celtica that lies on the ocean, where the grape either does not grow at all, or else does not bear fruit? In the more southern districts of these

<sup>1</sup> In Cappadocia, now Mt. Erdjuna.

<sup>2</sup> According to the statement the Oxus, which now empties into the Aral Lake flowed into the Caspian Sea. This is by the Kur and other rivers, the merchandise was carried to western points. See II. 7 &.



ἐπιβαλαττιδιοῖς<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Βόσπορον τελευ-  
φορεῖ, ἐν μικροκαρπίᾳ δέ, καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος  
κατορύττεται. οἱ δὲ πάγοι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτοί  
τινὲς εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῇ στόματι τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιώ-  
τιδος, ὥστ' ἐν χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ χειμῶνος ὁ τοῦ  
Μ.θριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐνίκησε τοὺς βαρβάρους  
ἵππομαχῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πάγῳ, τοὺς αὐτοὺς κατα-  
C 14 ναυμαχῆσαι θέρου, λυθέντος τοῦ πάγου. ὁ δ'  
Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ τοῦ πύγμαμα προφέρεται τὸ  
ἐν τῇ Ἀσκληπιδίῳ τῇ Παντικαπακῶν ἐπὶ τῇ  
βαρκισῇ χαλκῇ ὑδρίᾳ διὰ τὸν πάγον.

εἰ τις ἄρ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ πείθεται οἷα παρ' ἡμῖν  
γίνεται, εἰς τήνδε γνώται ἰδὼν ἰδέσθαι.  
ἦν οὐχ ὡς ἀνάθημα θεοῦ καλόν, ἀλλ' ἐπίδαιγμα  
χειμῶνος μεγάλου θύχ' ἱερεὺς Στρατίος.<sup>2</sup>

ὅπου οὖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ συγκριτέον τὰ ἐν  
τοῖς διαριθμηθεῖσι τόποις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν  
Ἀμισῷ καὶ Σινώπῃ (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων εὐκρατοτέ-  
ρους ἂν εἴποι τις), σχολῇ γ' ἂν παραβάλλοιτο  
τοῖς κατὰ Βορυσθένη καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Κελτοῖς.  
μόλις γάρ ἂν ταῖτοκλινεῖς εἰν τοῖς κατ' Ἀμὸν  
καὶ Σινώπην καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ Μασσαλίαν, οἱ  
τοῦ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ὁμολόγηται  
νοτιώτεροι σταδίοις τρισχιλίοις καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιβαλαττιδιοῖς, Friedemann, for ἐπιβαλαττιδιοῖς or ἐπι-  
βαλαττιδιοῖς; Meisecke following. Kramer, C. Müller, ap-  
proving. <sup>2</sup> ἱερεὺς Meisecke, for Στράτιος.

<sup>1</sup> That is, to keep them from freezing. See 7 §. 18.

countries, both on the Mediterranean Sea and in the regions about the Bosphorus the vine does bear fruit, but the grapes are small and the vines are buried during the winter.<sup>1</sup> The frosts are so severe at the mouth of Lake Manderas that, at a certain spot where, in winter time Mithridates generally conquered the barbarians in a naval engagement fought on the ice, he afterwards in summer time when the ice had melted defeated the same barbarians in a naval engagement.<sup>2</sup> At the same time long forward also, the flowing of the Nile from the temple of Ammon at Pantropaeum<sup>3</sup> which was increased on the lowest water as it had been burst by freezing. "If any man is interested as to what happens in our country at any one of the water-jar and know the truth which not as a fair offering unto God but as an illustration of our severe winters, has been dedicated by Herodotus the poet." Since therefore the climatic conditions in the Asiatic regions that I have enumerated are not to be compared even with those of the Bosphorus nay, not even with those of Armenia and Syria which places one would call winter to climate than the regions at the Bosphorus, those Asiatic regions could hardly be thrown on the same parallel as those about Berythos and with the coasts of the north-east coast. In fact, the Asiatic regions could only be in the same latitude as the regions about Armenia, Syria, Bactria, and Media which are considered to be three or four hundred stadia farther south than the Berythos and the Celts.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus refers to battles fought on the Straits of Yenishe, or Kizilirmak, in general of Mithridates the Great. Compare 1. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Now Korb, at the mouth of the Sea of Azov.

17. Οἱ δὲ γε περὶ Δηλίμαχον τοῖς τρισμυρίοις  
 ἔαν προσλάβωσι τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ταπροβανην καὶ τοὺς  
 δροὺς τῆς διακεκαυμένης, αὖς οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν  
 τετρακισχιλίων θετίον ἑκτοπιούσι τὰ τε Βακτρα  
 καὶ τὴν Ἀρίαν εἰς τοὺς ἀπέχοντας τόπους τῆς  
 διακεκαυμένης σταδίου τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισ-  
 χιλίους, ὅσους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ἐπὶ Βορυσθενη  
 φησὶν εἶναι ὁ Ἱππαρχος. ἐκπεσοῦνται ἄρα εἰς  
 τοὺς βορειωτέρους τοῦ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῆς Κελ-  
 τικῆς σταδίαις ὀκτακισχιλίαις καὶ ὀκτακασίαις,  
 ὅσοις νοτιωτέρος ἐστὶν ὁ ἰσημερινός τοῦ ὀριζήοντος  
 κύκλου τὴν διακεκαυμένην καὶ τὴν εὐκρατον,  
 ὃν φάμεν διὰ τῆς Κινναμωμοφόρου<sup>1</sup> μάλιστα  
 γράφεσθαι. ἡμῖς δὲ γε ἐπεδεικνυμεν μέχρι τῆς  
 Ἰερνῆς μολὶς οἰκήσιμα ὄντα τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κελ-  
 τικην, ἅπερ οὐ πλεον τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἐστὶν  
 οὗτος δ' ἀποφαίνει ὁ λόγος τῆς Ἰερνῆς εἶτι  
 βορειώτερον εἶναι τινα κύκλον οἰκήσιμον στα-  
 δίοις τρισχιλίαις ὀκτακασίοις ἔσται·<sup>2</sup> δὲ Βάκτρα  
 καὶ τοῦ στόματος τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης, εἴτε  
 Τρανίας, πόλιν πολὺ τι ὑρκτικώτερα, ὅπερ τοῦ  
 μυχοῦ τῆς Κασπίας καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν καὶ  
 Μηδικῶν ὁρῶν διέχει περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους,  
 καὶ δοκεῖ αὐτῆς τῆς<sup>3</sup> παραλίας μαχρὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς  
 ἀρκτικώτερον εἶναι σημεῖον καὶ περίπλουν ἔχειν

<sup>1</sup> *Isidore*, before *μάλιστα*, is discarded by the various editors.

<sup>2</sup> *Isidore*, Kramer, for *ἐπὶ* Forbiger, Meineke, following.

<sup>3</sup> *αὐτῆς γὰρ*, Gutschmid for *τῆς αὐτῆς*; Meineke, Forbiger, following; L. Kayser approving.

" Now if Demetrius and his followers add to the thirty thousand stadia the distance to Saginaw and to the ocean and if the Greek geographers must be put at not less than that distance, it is evident that by doing so both Bactra and Aru outside the thousand stadia in the regions that are the first thousand stadia from the land make the number of stadia 40,000 as given as the distance from the ocean to the land mass. And so Bactra and Aru are at known stadia into the regions that are eight thousand stadia from the land further north than the land mass. And so the number of stadia by which the regions are distant from the land is the total sum from the temperate, and this sum we are to draw in a general way, through the Caucasus and the Taurus. Now I must be passing on the the regions would extend as far as some geographers have said and that this distance is not more than by 2,000 stadia but by a number of thousands. Demetrius that there is a distance of more than three thousand eight hundred stadia from the land than before. Thus the land is a very small distance further west than even the mouth of the Caspian or the Caucasus. Now the distance is about six thousand stadia distant from the nearest part of the Caucasus and from the Araxes and Indian mountains and it seems to be a great distance further than the distance that runs thence to India and to offer a practicable route of

14 14 Strabo said " not less than 2,000 stadia "

1 1 1

1 1 1 He thought that the Caspian Sea opened into the Indian sea.

ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς δυνατόν, ὡς φησιν ὁ τῶν τόπων  
 ἀγῆσάμενος τούτων Πατροκλῆς. ἔτι ταύτων ἡ  
 Βακτριανὴ χίλια στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐκτεί-  
 νεται· τὰ δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔθνη<sup>1</sup> πολὺ μείζω ταύ-  
 τῆς ἐπέκεινα χώραν νέμεται, καὶ τελευταῖα πρὸς  
 C 75 τὴν βορείαν θάλατταν, νομαδικῶς μὲν, ζῶντα δ'  
 ὄμις. πῶς οὖν, εἴπερ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ Ἡάκτρα ἤδη τῆς  
 εἰκουμένης ἐκπίπτει, εἴη δὲ τὸ διάστημα τοῦτο ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Καυκάσου μέχρι τῆς βορείας θαλάττης τῇ  
 διὰ Βάκτρων ὀλίγῃ πλείονων ἢ τετρακισχιλίων·  
 ταῦτα δὲ προστιθέντα τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰέρνης ἐπὶ  
 τὰ βορρεια σταδιασμῶ ποικί τὸ πᾶν διὰ τῆς ὁμοιή-  
 του διαστημα ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς Ἰέρνης σταδιασμοῦ  
 σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ ὀκτακοσίων· εἰ δὲ  
 ἴδασσι τίς τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους, αὐτὰ  
 γε τὰ πρὸς τῇ Καυκάσῳ μέρη τῆς Βακτριανῆς  
 ἔσται βορειότερα τῆς Ἰέρνης σταδίοις τρισχιλίοις  
 καὶ ὀκτακοσίοις, τῆς δὲ Κελτικῆς καὶ τοῦ Βορυ-  
 σθενους ὀκτακισχιλίοις καὶ ὀκτακοσίοις.

18. Φησι δὲ γε ὁ Ἰππάρχος κατὰ τὸν Βορυσθένη  
 καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς θερμαῖς ρυξί  
 παραυγάζεσθαι τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου περιϊστάμενον  
 ἀπὸ τῆς δυσσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν, ταῖς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> *ἔθνη*, Kramm suggests, after *ἔθνη*, Meineke following.

<sup>1</sup> That is, beyond the mouth of the Caspian into the inhabited world. The whole argument against Doctmachee and his school is a *reductio ad absurdum*.

<sup>2</sup> And thus, some 1 g to Strabo, they really reach no farther, approximately, than the mouth of the Caspian.

circumnavigation from India, according to Patrocles, who was once governor of these regions). According to Bactriana stretches out still farther<sup>1</sup> for a thousand stadia toward the north. But the Scythian tribes have a much larger country than Bactriana, on beyond it and they end at the northern sea<sup>2</sup>, who, though it be as nomads, all manage to live. Now, then, if even Bactra itself is now thrown outside of the inhabited world, could this distance from the Caucasus up to the northern sea, measured on the meridian line through Bactra be a little more than four thousand stadia<sup>3</sup>? If these stadia then, be added to the stadia reckoning from Ierne to the northern regions,<sup>4</sup> they make the total distance through the uninhabited regions, on the stadia reckoning made through Ierne, seven thousand eight hundred stadia. But if one should leave out the four thousand stadia, at least the very parts of Bactriana that are next to the Caucasus<sup>5</sup> will be farther north than Ierne by three thousand eight hundred stadia, and far her north than Caucas and the Barystanes by eight thousand eight hundred stadia.

And Hierarchus says, at all events, that at the Rostathones and Caucas, throughout two nights in summer time the light of the sun shines dimly moving round from the west to the east, and at

<sup>1</sup> The figure of 4,000 is quoted from Demetrius and his school. It was necessary to meet facts upon their own ground with this figure, the use of argument.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the B-400 stadia above mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Hence, not the A-400 stadia. The mountains from A-400 stadia were also named mountains (II 2 11).

<sup>4</sup> In connection with this paragraph, read II 2 24-25. Strabo finds another account of (see page 112).

χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς τὸ πλεῖστον μεταωρίζεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ πηχέαις ἐννέα ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπέχουσι τῆς Μασσαλίας ἑξακισχιλίαις καὶ τριακοσίαις (οὗς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνει, ἔγω δ' οἶμαι Βρεττανιοὺς εἶναι, βορειοτέρους τῆς Κελτικῆς σταδίοις δισχιλίαις πεντακοσίαις) πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἐν δὲ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ἡμέραις ὃ ἥλιος μεταωρίζεται πηχέαις ἑξ. τέτταρας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπέχουσι Μασσαλίας ἑνα κισχιλίου<sup>1</sup> σταδίου καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐλάττω δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπείκεινα, οἱ<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον πολὺ ἐν εἰς ἀρτικώτεροι τῆς Ἰέρυης οὗτος δὲ Πυθαγ. πιστεύειν κατὰ τὰ νοτιώτερα<sup>3</sup> τῆς Βρεττανικῆς τὴν οἰκισιν ταυτην τίθῃσι, καὶ φησιν εἶναι τὴν μακροτάτην ἐνταυθα ἡμέραν ὥρων ἰσημερινῶν ἑκα ἐννέα, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δέ, ὅπου τέτταρας ὃ ἥλιος μεταωρίζεται πηχέαις οὗς φησιν ἀπέχειν τῆς Μασσαλίας ἑνακισχιλίου καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίου. ὥσθ' οἱ νοτιώτατοι τῶν Βρεττανῶν βορειότεροι τούτων εἰσιν. ἦτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἑξακισχιλίου, Meineke, for ἑνακισχιλίου, A Jacob appropos.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Ptolemy deleted, before said, Du Thet, Grosheide, Meineke, Forbiger, Tarieu, following.

<sup>3</sup> νοτιώτερα, as A Jacob proves, must not be changed to ἀρτικώτερα (as has been done since Du Thet's time), since the argument is rigorously correct and in keeping with the evidence of the text. T. O. Tuckey suggests ἐλάττω.

<sup>1</sup> The astronomical cubit was two degrees.

<sup>2</sup> At 6.300 st. a north of Massalia.

<sup>3</sup> "This inhabited country" of Hipparchus means the

## GEOGRAPHY, &c. 13

the winter solstice the sun exceeds at most only nine cubits: but that among the people who are six thousand five hundred stadia distant from Mamma there is a place where the sun exceeds at the winter solstice though I think they are British the phenomenon is much more increased and on the winter days there the sun exceeds only six cubits and on the solstice among the people who are distant from Mamma nine thousand one hundred stadia and less than three cubits among the people who live on beyond who according to my argument would be much farther north than Jem. Not Hicquichas, trusting Ptolemy, puts this inhabited country in the regions that are farther south than Britain,<sup>6</sup> and says that the longest day there has nineteen equinoctial hours: but that the longest day has eighteen hours when the sun exceeds only five cubits: and these people he says are distant from Mamma nine thousand and one hundred stadia and hence the most northerly of the Britons are more northerly than these people. According to

myself that is beyond 600 miles to the north of Mamma. To Hicquichas, however, it is nearer.

<sup>5</sup> The sun day is not more than 18 cubits and so the concept being dependent upon the equinox, being at a point 100 miles beyond it the sun is at 100 miles. Hence "equinoxes" have a bearing on the sun's position.

<sup>6</sup> That is at 100 stadia north of Britain. By comparing the sun's position in Britain we find that Hicquichas date with Hicquichas 100 miles. I have 600 miles south of Britain or Mamma with Hicquichas passed in the same latitude as Hicquichas, 600 miles. I have 600 miles south of Britain or Mamma 600 miles. I have the inhabited country on beyond, and then 6 cubits, 10 hours.



παραλλήλου εἰς τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ Βακ-  
 τρίοις ἢ ἐπὶ τινος πλησιάζοντος· εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι  
 κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Δηίμαχον συμβήσεται βορειο-  
 τέρους εἶναι τῆς Ἰέρνης τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ  
 Βακτρίους σταδίοις τρισχιλίοις ὀκτακοσίοις προ-  
 τεθέντων δὲ τούτων τοῖς ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας εἰς  
 Ἰέρνην, γίνονται μύριοι δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι.  
 τίς οὖν ιστόρηκεν ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ τύποις, λέγω δὲ  
 τοῖς περὶ Βάκτρα, τοῦτο τὸ μήκος τῶν μεγίστων  
 ἡμερῶν ἢ τὸ ἄξαρμα τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ κατὰ τὰς  
 μεσουρανήσεις ἐν ταῖς χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς, ἀφθαλ-  
 μοφανῇ γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτῇ καὶ οὐ  
 C 78 δίδοντα μαθηματικῆς σημειώσεως, ὥστε συνέ-  
 γραψαν ἂν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν τὰ  
 Περσικὰ ιστορούντων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι καὶ  
 εἰς ἡμᾶς πῶς δ' ἂν ἡ λαχθαῖσα εὐδαιμονία τῶν  
 τόπων ὁμολογεῖτο<sup>1</sup> τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ  
 φαινομένοις; ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων δήλον, ὥς καὶ  
 σοφῶς ἀντιλέγει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ὡς ἰσο-  
 δυναμοῦντων τῶν ζητουμένων λαμβάνοντος πρὸς  
 τὸ ἀποδεῖξαι τὸ ζητούμενον.

19. Πάλιν δ' ἐκείνου τὸν Δηίμαχον ἰδιώτην  
 ἐνδείξασθαι βουλομένου καὶ ἀπειρον τῶν τοιού-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ, Corais insertis, Grotkurd, Mainake, Forbiger, Tar-  
 diou, following

<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογεῖται, A. Jacob, for ἀντιλέγεται.

<sup>1</sup> Compare §§ 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> 4 cubits, 12 hours, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The fallacy is that of "begging the question" (*petitio  
 principii*). On the question of the most northerly latitude  
 of the inhabited world, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus are

they are either on the same parallel as the Barterians that are near the Caucasus or on some parallel close to it, for as I have stated, according to Demarchus and his followers our point will be that the Barterians that are near the Caucasus are more northerly than Icarus by three thousand eight hundred stadia and if those stadia be added to those from Massæa to Icarus we get twelve thousand five hundred stadia. Now who has ever rejected in these regions the mean the regions about Hætre such a length of the longest day, or such a meridian height of the sun at the winter solstice? Yet all such phenomena are obvious to the eye even of a layman and do not require mathematical demonstration so that many men both of the early writers of Persian history and of those successors on down to our own times, could have complied them. Again, how could the above-mentioned happy lot of these regions be extended to those regions that have such a high position? And so then what I have said is clear to every cleverly Hippias-like contradicts the demonstration of Barterian on the ground that the water although their currents of currents are in effect equivalent were taking the object of inquiry for granted as an aid to his demonstration thereof.

10 And in again where Frobenius wishes to show that Demarchus is a layman and inexperienced

both wrong in that they place the point too far north. Strabo thinks among other things they both commit a like error in that they are too far south as Demarchus says Massæa is much farther south. He also remarks that the point is not far from the point of the Caucasus of Frobenius by assuming him of lagging the question.

των οἶσθαι γὰρ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν μεταξὺ καίσθαι τῆς τε φθινοπωρινῆς ἰσημερίας καὶ τῶν τροπῶν τῶν χειμερινῶν, Μεγασθάνει τε ἀντιλέγειν φήσαντι ἐν τοῖς νατίοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰς τε ἄρκτους ἀποκρύπτεσθαι καὶ τὰς σκιὰς ἀντιπίπτειν· μηδέτερον γὰρ τούτων μηδαμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς συμβαίνει· ταῦτα δὲ φάσκοντος ἀμαθῶς λέγεσθαι· τό τε γὰρ τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν τῆς ἐαρινῆς διαφέρειν οἶσθαι κατὰ τὴν διάστασιν τὴν πρὸς τὰς τροπὰς ἀμαθείας, τοῦ τε κύκλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς· τοῦ τε διαστήματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τροπικοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ, ὧν μεταξὺ τίθησι τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐκείνος, δειχθέντος ἐν τῇ ἀναμετρησεὶ πολλὸν ἐλάττωον τῶν διαμυριων σταδίων, συμβῆναι ἂν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον, ὅπερ αὐτὸς νομίζει, οὐχ ὃ ἐκείνος· δυεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἢ καὶ τριῶν μυριάδων οὖσαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν οὐδὲ πεσεῖν μεταξὺ τσοῦτου διαστήματος, ὅσῃν δ' αὐτὸς εἴρηκε, πεσεῖν ἂν· τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας εἶναι καὶ τὸ μηδαμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀποκρύπτεσθαι φάσκειν τὰς ἄρκτους μηδὲ τὰς σκιὰς ἀντιπίπτειν, ὅτε γε καὶ πεντακισχιλίους προσελθόντι ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας εὐθὺς συμβαίνειν ἄρχεται· ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εἰκότα, Corais, De Thail, for εἰκότας.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo's "winter tropic" and "summer tropic" correspond roughly to the tropic of Capricorn and the tropic of Cancer. The former was placed at 24°, at Syene.

<sup>1</sup> That is, to the south as well as to the north—which would be true of all points in the torrid zone.

in such matters. For he says Demarchus thinks that India lies between the autumnal equinox and the winter tropic, and contradicts the statement of Megasthenes that, in the northern parts of India, the Bears set and the shadows fall in the opposite directions, asserting that neither phenomenon takes place anywhere in India, and so says Eratosthenes, when Demarchus asserts this, he speaks ignorantly, since it is more ignorance to think that the autumnal equinox differs from the vernal equinox in distance from the tropic, because both the circle<sup>1</sup> and the rising of the sun are the same at the equinoxes, and since the distance between the terrestrial tropic and the equator between which Demarchus places India, has been shown in the measurement of the earth to be much less than twenty thousand stadia,<sup>2</sup> the result would be even according to Demarchus himself, precisely what Eratosthenes thinks and not what Demarchus thinks, for if India be twenty or as much as thirty thousand stadia in breadth it could not even fall within such a space.<sup>3</sup> But if India has the breadth which Eratosthenes himself has given it, then it would fall thereon, and that it is also a mark of the same ignorance for Demarchus to assert that in no part of India do the Bears set or the shadows fall in the opposite directions since at any rate if you proceed only five thousand stadia south from Alexandria the phenomena begin at once to take place.

<sup>1</sup> The circle in which they seek lies in that of the (celestial) equator.

<sup>2</sup> Calculating 2 stadia to the degree, Eratosthenes' measurement of the earth is of 19,000 stadia, the tropic at 23° from the equator is 4370 stadia, and the circle of the tropic is 11,300 stadia.

<sup>3</sup> Between the tropic and the equator.

[illegible]

20 Νυνί μιν οὖν υποθέμενοι τὰ ποσιωτάτα τῆς Ἰουδαίης ἀνταρῶσι τοῖς κατὰ Μίροπον ὑπερβίον σπασί, πολλοὶ καὶ ποσιωτεύουσιν ἐπιδείκνυμεν τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἄποκα· ἐννὶ δὲ οἱ Ἰσχυαρχοὶ οὐδὲν ἀντίστην τῇ ὑποθέσει ταύτῃ· νυνὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι τῇ δευτέρῃ ὑποθέσει οὐ συγχωρεῖ, σκεπτικῶς καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου· φασὶ ταῦτα, ἀνταρῶντων ἀλλήλους τῶν ὅτι τοῦ αἵτου παραλλήλου καὶ μίμων ἐπειδὴ τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀποκα διαστήμα μὴ δύνασθαι γινώσκειναι αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵτου παραλλήλου οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄντων τῆς τῶν κλημάτων συγκατάθεσις τῆς κατὰ θάτερον τῶν τῶν ὅτι τὸ μιν οὖν κατὰ Μίροπον αἷμα Φίλωνος τοῦ συγγραφέαντος τοῦ εἰς Αἰθιοπίας πλοῦτον ἰσχυρεῖν, ὅτι πρὸ πάντων καὶ τοῦσαυμάτων ἡμέρων τῆς θρασύτης τροπῆς κατὰ κορυφὴν γινώσκει οἱ ἄλλοι, λανθάνει δὲ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ γραμμένου πρὸς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> David Charles Pearson, *Patrol, for and Grandd. Mousaka, Fort for Air Chief & Gen. L. M. Mousaka*

Monahan, Forttager, Jennings, C. M. Lay, L. Kayser up  
Brewing

<sup>1</sup> *per river, Canada, by the river, on the authority of a*

So Hipparchus is again not right in correcting Eratosthenes on that statement, because, in the first place, he interprets Demachus as saying "the summer tropic" instead of "the winter tropic," and because, in the second place, he thinks we should not use as a source of evidence on mathematics a man who is unversed in astronomy—just as if Eratosthenes were reckoning in the evidence of Demachus above that of other men and not merely following a common custom used in replying to men that talk too freely. For one way of refuting men who contradict foolishly is to show that the very declaration they make, whatever it may be, pleads our case.

20. Up to this point, then, having taken as hypothesis that the most southerly regions of India rise opposite the regions about Meroë which many have stated and believed, I have pointed out the absurdities that result from this hypothesis. But since Hipparchus up to this point offers no objection to this hypothesis, and yet later on, in his Second Book, will not concede it, I must consider his argument on this matter, too. Well, then, he says: If only the regions that lie on the same parallel rise opposite each other then, whenever the intervening distance is great, we cannot know this very thing, namely that the regions in question are on the same parallel, without the comparison of the "climates" as observed at the other of the two places, now as for the "climate" at Meroë Philo. who wrote an account of his voyage to Ethiopia, reports that the sun is in the zenith forty-five days before the summer solstice and tells also the relations of the gnomon to the shadows

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 2, page 22.

τὰς τροπικὰς σκιάς καὶ τὰς ἰσημερινὰς, αὐτόν τε Ἑρατοσθένη συμφωνεῖν ἔγγιστα τῇ Φίλωνι, τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ κλίμα μηδὲν ἰστορεῖν, μηδ' αὐτὸν Ἑρατοσθένη. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄρκτοι ἐκεῖ ἀμφοτέραι, ὥς εἰσὶναι, ἀποκρίνονται, πιστεύοντες τοῦ περὶ Νταρχον, μὴ δυνατόν εἶναι ἐπὶ ταύτῃ παραλλήλῳ κεῖσθαι τὴν τε Μερόην<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰ μὴν τοῖσιν περὶ τῶν ἀρκτων ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι ἀποκρίνονται, συναποφαίνεται τοῖς εἰπεῦσιν Ἑρατοσθένους, πῶς περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ κλίματος οὕτως ἀποφαίνεται, οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἑρατοσθένους; οὗτος γὰρ ὁ λόγος περὶ τοῦ κλίματος ὅστις. αἱ δ' οὐ συναποφαίνεται, ἀπηλλάχθω τῆς αἰτίας. αὐτὸ συναποφαίνεται δέ γε, ἄλλὰ τοῦ Δημάχου φήσαντος μηδαμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μήτ' ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὰς ἀρκτους μήτ' ἀντικίπτειν τὰς σκιάς, ἅπερ ὑπέληφεν ὁ Μεγασθένης, ἀπειριαν αὐτοῦ καταγιγνώσκει, τὸ συμπεπλεγμένου νομίζων ψεύδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁμολογουμένως καὶ ἐκτ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰππαρχον τό γε μὴ ἀντικίπτειν τὰς σκιάς ψεύδος ἐμπέπλεκται. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τῇ Μερόῃ ἀνταίρει, τῆς γε Συητης νοτιωτέρως εἶναι τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς συγχωρῶν φαίνεται.

21. Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρῶν ἢ ταῦτά λέγει τοῖς ἐξαλεγχθεῖσιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἢ λήμμασι προσχρῆται ψευδέσιν, ἢ ἐπιφέρει τὸ μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ τῇ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα, Ceteris doctores, before and; Malacoe following.

both to the solstices and the equinoxes, and Eratosthenes agrees very closely with Philo, whereas nobody reports the "clima" in India, not even Eratosthenes himself; however if it is really true that in India the Bears set both of them as they think, relying on Nearchus and his followers, then it is impossible that Meru and the coasts of India lie on the same parallel. Now if Eratosthenes joins those who have already so stated in reporting that both Bears do set, how can it be that nobody reports about the "clima" in India, not even Eratosthenes himself? For this statement concerns the "clima." But if Eratosthenes does not join them in the report, let him be free from the accusation. No, he does not join them in the report, nay because Hipparchus said that the Bears do not set and the shadows do not fall in the opposite direction anywhere in India (as Megasthenes assumed). Eratosthenes convicts him of incompetence regarding as factious the combined statement, wherein by the acknowledgement of Hipparchus himself the false statement that the shadows do not fall in the opposite direction is combined with that about the Bears. For even if the southern coasts of India do not rise opposite to Meru, Hipparchus clearly reminds that they are at least farther south than Syene.

2. In what follows, too Hipparchus, in attempting proofs on the same questions, either states again the same things that I have already disproved or employs additional false assumptions, or appends conclusions that do not follow. In the first place, take the state-

\* 2 000 stadia directly north of Meru. To one travelling north from the equator to Lower Bear a first shadow falls at Meru, according to Hipparchus (I. 2. 25).



Θάψακον εἶναι σταδίους τετρακισχιλίους ὀκτακοσίους, ἐνταῦθεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀρμένια ὄρη δισχιλίους ἑκατόν, ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπὶ τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς μασσηβρινοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρκτικά ὄρη πλείους εἶναι τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων· οὔτε τὸ ἀπὸ Θάψακον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη δισχιλίων καὶ ἑκατόν φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης, ἀλλ' εἶναι τι λοιπὸν ἀκαταμέτρητον, ὥσθ' ἡ ἐξῆς ἐφοδος ἐκ μὴ δεδομένου λημματος οὐκ ἂν ἐπεραίνετο. οὗτ' ὑπεφήνατο οὐδαμοῦ Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν Θάψακον τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πρὸς ἄρκτους κείσθαι πλείους ἢ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους.

22. Ἐξῆς δὲ συνηγορῶν ἐτι ταῖς ἀρχαίαις πίναξιν οὐ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους προφέρεται περὶ τῆς τρίτης σφραγίδος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ κεχωρισμένῳ πλάττει τὴν ἀποφασιν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν εὐφυῆ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκολουθῶν τῇ θέσει τῇ προειρημένῃ τοῦ τε Ταύρου καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Σιτηλῶν θαλάττης, διελὼν τῇ γραμμῇ ταύτῃ τὴν οἰκουμένην διχα, καὶ καλεσας τὸ μὲν βορειον μέρος, τὸ δὲ νότιον, πειράται τούτων ἑκατερον τέμνειν πῦλιν εἰς τὰ δυνατὰ μέρη· καλεῖ δὲ ταῦτα σφραγίδας. καὶ δὴ τοῦ νοτίου μέρους πρώτην εἰπὼν σφραγίδα τὴν Ἰνδικήν, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν Ἀριανήν, ἐχούσας τι ὑπερίγραφον, ἰσχυσεν ἀμφοτέρων ἀποδοῦναι

<sup>1</sup> See footnote, page 306.

<sup>2</sup> That is, which he charges to Eratosthenes.

most of Eratosthenes that the distance from Babylon to Thapsacus is four thousand eight hundred stadia and thence northwards to the Armenian Mountains two thousand five hundred. It does not follow from this that the distance from Hely on measured on the mountain through it to the northern mountains is more than six thousand stadia. Secondly Eratosthenes does not say that the distance from Thapsacus to the mountains is two thousand five hundred stadia but that there is a remainder of that distance which has not been measured and hence the rounding off made from an assumption not granted, could not result in a real overstatement. And finally, Eratosthenes has nowhere demanded that Thapsacus be south of Babylon more than four thousand five hundred stadia.

21 Next still pointing for the early maps Hipparchus does not produce the words of Eratosthenes in regard to the Tard Ne-tou,<sup>1</sup> but for his own gratification invents his statement<sup>2</sup> making it easy to overstate. For Eratosthenes, pursuing his observations there about the Caucas and the Mediterranean Sea, beginning at the Pillars<sup>3</sup> divides the indicated world or means of the sea into two divisions and calls them respectively the Northern Division and the Southern Division and then attempts to cut each of these divisions again into such sections as are possible, and he calls these sections "divisions."<sup>4</sup> And on afterwards into a section East of the Southern Division and Ariana section Westward since they had not more west to stretch he was able to represent not only length and breadth of

<sup>1</sup> B. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See paragraph 26 following and footnote.

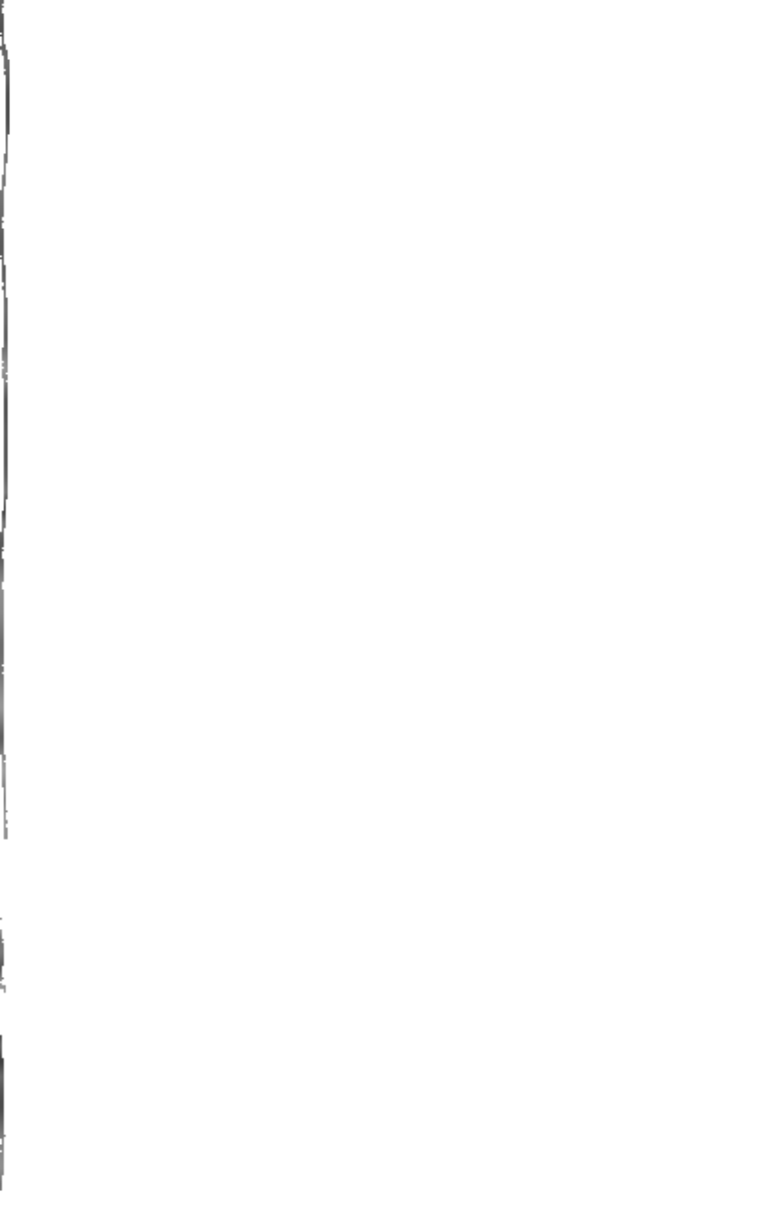
καὶ μήκος καὶ πλάτος, τρόπος δὲ τινα καὶ σχῆμα  
ὡς ἂν γεωμετρικός. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰνδικὴν ῥομ-  
βοειδῇ φησι διὰ τὸ τῶν πλευρῶν τὰς μὲν θαλάττῃ  
κλυζεσθαι τῇ τε γούτῃ καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μὴ πανυ  
κολπώδεις ᾖναι<sup>1</sup> ποιοῦσθαι, τὰς δὲ λαιπας, τὴν  
μὲν τῷ ὄρει, τὴν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ, πάνταύθα τοῦ  
εὐθυγράμμου σχήματος ὑπὸ τι πωζομένου τὴν  
δ' Ἀριανὴν ὁρῶν τὰς γε τρεῖς πλευράς ἔχουσιν  
εὐφινεῖς πρὸς τὸ ἀποτελεσαι παραλληλογραμ-  
μου σχῆμα, τὴν δ' ἰσπίριον οὐκ ἔχων σημειοῖς  
ἀφορίσαι διὰ τὸ ἐπαλλασττειν ἀλλήλοισι τὰ ἔθνη.  
γραμμῇ τιμ ὁμοιᾷ δηλοῖ τῇ ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν  
ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Καρμανίας τελευτῶσθαι τὰ συνάπ-  
τοντα πρὸς τὴν Περσικὴν κόλπον. ἰσπίριον μὲν  
οὖν καλεῖ τοῦτο τὸ πλευρον, ἦσαν δὲ τὸ παρὰ  
τὸν Ἰνδόν, παράλληλα δ' αὖ λέγει, οὐδὲ τὰ  
λαιπά, τὸ τε τῷ ὄρει γραφομένου καὶ τὸ τῇ  
θαλάττῃ, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ μὲν βορείον, τὸ δὲ νότιον.

23 Οὕτω δ' ὁλοσχερεῖ τιμ τυμφ τὴν δευτέραν  
ἀποδιδούς σφραγίδα, παλὺ ταύτης ὁλοσχερεστε-  
ρον ἀποδίδωσι τὴν τρίτην σφραγίδα κατα πλεί-  
ους αἰτίας. πρώτην μὲν τὴν λαχθεῖσαν, ὅτι οὐκ  
εὐκρινῶς ἀφωριεσται ἢ ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ  
Καρμανίαν, ἥτις κοινή ἐστι τῇ τρίτῃ πρὸς τὴν  
δευτέραν σφραγίδα πλευρά· ἐπειθ' ὅτι εἰς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ᾖναι, Molaeke, for ἔναι.

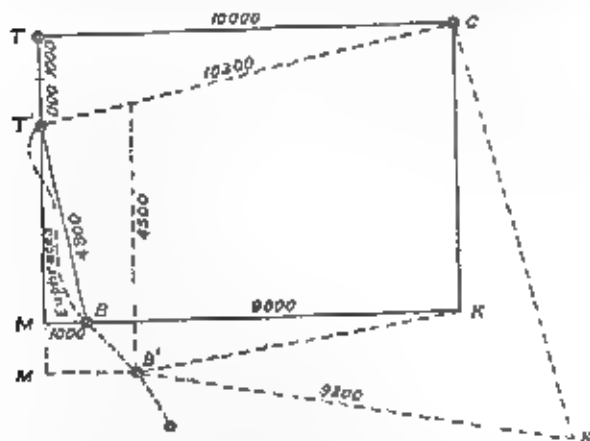
<sup>1</sup> Strabo discusses th. s. point again in 15. 1. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The Taurus. <sup>3</sup> India.



## STRABO

In §§ 28-29 Strabo shows that Hipparchus applies the figures of Brestothanes to rectangular dimensions ( $TCKM$ ), placing Thapsacus at  $T$ , Caspian Gates at  $C$ , the point on the Carmanian frontier at  $K$ , Babylon at  $B$ , and so on; and that



the dotted lines, including the Euphrates, represent what Eratosthenes meant in his rough estimates. Of course it is easy to show the impossibility of Eratosthenes' figures in their mutual relations if they be applied as Hipparchus applied them.

both fortunes but, after a fashion, shape also. as would a general man. In the first place India, he says to them, 'well, here is of its four sides two are washed by sea the western and the eastern seas which form shores without very deep gulfs and because the remaining sides are marked one by the mountains and the other by the river' and because on these two sides also the parts near figures is for a very prominent boundary. Arrian. Although he sees that 'that at least three' (in well said) 'the formation of the figure of a part of ground, as a thing' he cannot mark off the western side by another two parts on account of the fact that the tribes there are too wild and scattered to be represented that side by a sort of line that begins at the Caspian rates and ends at the apex of Caucasus that are next to us. Ptolemy said. According to him 'the side' western, and the side along the Indian eastern but he does not so there just a number that he can find for the two sides, just as he marks the one marked by the mountains and the one marked by the sea but he does not mark them 'the western' and 'the eastern' sides.

33. And as though he represents the Second Edition merely by a rough outline, he represents the Third Edition much more roughly than the Second, and for several reasons. First is the reason already mentioned, namely, because the note beginning at the Caspian Gates and running to the end of the note current in the Second and Third Editions has not been determined distinctly

\* The above maps are used with one another as in the May 20, 1968 report of the National Academy of Sciences.

1. 2004年12月1日

\* See figures and tables on page 206



secondly, because the Persian Gulf breaks into the northern side, as Eratosthenes himself says, and therefore he has been forced to take the line beginning at Babelon as though it were a straight line running through Susa and Persepolis to the frontiers of Carmania and Persis, on which he was able to find a measured highway, which was slightly more than nine thousand stadia long, all told. This side Eratosthenes calls "southern," but he does not call it parallel to the northern side. Again it is clear that the Euphrates, by which he marks off the western side, is nowhere near a straight line, but after flowing from the mountains towards the south, it then turns eastward, and then southward again to the point where it empties into the sea. And Eratosthenes makes clear the river's lack of straightness when he indicates the shape of Mesopotamia, which results from the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates "like a gully," as he says. And besides, as regards the stretch from Thapsacus to Armenia—Eratosthenes does not even know, as a distance that has been wholly measured the western side that is marked off by the Euphrates; nay, he says he does not know how great is the stretch next to Armenia and the northern mountains, from the fact that it is unmeasured. For all these reasons, therefore, he may be representing the Third Section only in rough outline; indeed he says that he collected even the distances from many writers who had worked out the itineraries—some of which he speaks of as actually



καλεῖ. ὀγνωμονεῖν δὴ δόξειεν ἂν ὁ Ἰππαρχος πρὸς τὴν τοιαυτὴν ὀλοσχέρειαν γεωμετρικῶς ἀντιλέγων, ἐν ᾗ χάριν εἶδέναι δεῖ τοῖς καὶ ὀκνεοῦν ἀπαγγεῖλαισιν ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν τόπων φύσιν. ὅταν δὲ δὴ μηδ' ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος λέγει λαμβάνῃ τὰς γεωμετρικὰς ὑποθέσεις, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῇ πλάσας, ἐκφανέστερον ἂν τὸ φιλότιμον καταμνησέοιτο.

24. Ὁ μὲν δὴ οὕτως φησὶ τὴν τρίτην μυρίδα τυτωδῶς ἀποδίδοσθαι μυρίων σταδίων ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην, κατὰ μέρος δὲ διαιρῶν, ὥς ἀναγεγραμμένην εὖρε τὴν μέτρησιν, οὕτω τιθήσιν, ἑμπάλιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου πειρησάμενος καὶ τῆς κατὰ Θάψακον διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦ Τίγριδος, ἔκον Ἀλέξανδρος διεβη, σταδίους δισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους γρούφει· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξῆς τόπους διὰ Γαυγαμήλων καὶ τοῦ Λυκου καὶ Ἀρβήλων καὶ Ἑκβατάνων, ᾗ Δαρεῖος ἐκ τῶν Γαυγαμήλων ἔφυγε μέχρι Κασπίων πυλῶν, ταῦτε μυρίους ἐκπληροῖ, τριακοσίους μόνον πλεονάσας. τὸ μὲν δὴ βόρειον πλευρὸν οὕτω καταμετρεῖ, οὐ παράλληλον τοῖς ὄρεσι θει, οὐδὲ τῇ διὰ Στηλῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου γραμμῇ· ἡ γὰρ Θάψακος πολλὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀφίστηκε, συμπίπτει δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Θάψακου ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίους πύλας. καὶ τὰ γε προσάρκτια μέρη τοῦ ὄρου ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

without rules. So then, Hipparchus would seem to be acting wisely when he contrasts with geometrical accuracy a more rough outline of the nature instead of being guided, as we should be told, those who have referred to us in any way at all the photographs of the region. But when Hipparchus does not even take his geometrical hypotheses from what authorities were not famous on his own account he betrays his spirit of jealousy still more obviously.

It now Ptolemy agrees that it is only three, "in a rough manner" way that he has represented the Third Section with a length of ten thousand stadia from the Caspian Gates to the Bosphorus. And then in making out the names of the lengths he sets down the measurements just as he found them already assigned by others after beginning in the innermost corner of the Euxine and its passage at Thapsarus. According to the distance from the Bosphorus to the Caspian he partitions & divides crossed it he says of two thousand and four hundred stadia, three to the western part in measurement through the mountains the Lesser Araxes and Pontus the route by which there is a distance of ten thousand stadia to the Caspian Gates he says of the ten thousand stadia and has a portion of only three hundred stadia. Thus, then, is the way he measures the northern side not having first put it parallel with the western side with the one that runs through the Paropamisadae and Rhodus. For Thapsarus was at a considerable distance from the mountains and the mountain range and the high way from Thapsarus went at the Caspian Gates — and these are the northern portions of the boundary of the Third Section.



25 After having thus represented the northern side Eratosthenes says it is not possible to take the southern side as being the sea because the Persian Gulf is not wide at that spot, he from Babylon through Susa and Persepolis to the frontiers of Persia and Carmania it is more than ten hundred stadia—and this he calls southern side, but he does not call the southern side parallel to the northern. As to the difference in the lengths of the estimated northern and southern sides, he says it results from the fact that the Explorer after having sailed southwards to a certain point, makes a considerable bend towards the east.

26 Of the two transverse sides Eratosthenes speaks of the western first, and what the nature of this side is whether it is one side or two is a matter open to consideration. For from the passage at Thapsacus, he says, along the Euphrates to Babylon, it is four thousand and one hundred stadia and thence to the coast of the Euxine and the city of Tarsus three thousand. As regards the distance from Thapsacus northwards if the stadia have been measured up to the Armenian water and amount to about one thousand one hundred whereas the stadia through Media and Armenia are of immenseness and so for the reason he leaves them out of consideration. But of the side on the east, that part which runs through Persia is a way from the Red Sea approximately toward Media and the north it he estimates as no less than eight thousand stadia though if one will in no certain proportion, even above nine thousand stadia—and the remaining part, through Parthians and Media to the Caspian

<sup>1</sup> For the passage of Parthians see 12 & 13.

τροχιλίων τὸν δὲ Τύγρον ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν  
 Ευφράτην ῥέοντας ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας πρὸς μυσίαν  
 ἄρην, ἐπειδὴ παραμειψόμεθα τὰ τοῦ Γορδύαιων  
 ἔργη, εὐκλεῶς μόνον περιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἐμπρο-  
 σθεν λαβόντας χώραν πολλὴν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας  
 ἐπιστρίφειν πρὸς χειμερινὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν  
 μεσημέριαν, πλεονεχόντες δὲ τὸν Ευφράτην γένεσθαι  
 ἐκ τούτου ἕγχεον αἰετὸς τοῦ Ἰσχυροῦς κατὰ τὰ Λομ-  
 ραῖδος διατειχίσμα καὶ πόλιν καλουμένην Ὀπίαν,  
 διασχόντες ταύτης ὅσον διαποσεινὸν σταδίον, καὶ  
 ῥύττον διὰ Βαβυλωνίως ἐκπίπτειν εἰς τὸν Περσικὸν  
 κόλπον γινώσκοντες διὰ φύσιν, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Μεσο-  
 ποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας ὑπερσφίγαντες παρα-  
 πλῆξιν, ἃ μὲν δὲ Εὐρατοσθένης τοιαύτ' εἶρηκε.

27. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τρίτης σφραγίδος καὶ ἄλλα μὲν  
 τινα ἀμάρτηματα ποιεῖ τοῖς ὡς ἐπισκευομένοις, ἃ  
 δὲ Ἰσχυάρχος προφέρει αὐτῷ, οὐ πάντων σκεπόμεν  
 ὃ δὲ λέγει Βουλόμενος γὰρ μεθεῖναι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ὅτι οὐ μεταθίττω τὴν Ἰνδὸν ἐπὶ τὰ νοτιώτερα,  
 ὥστε Εὐρατοσθένης ἂν οἱ σαφὲς εἴη γινώσκειν  
 ταῦτα μάλιστα φησὶν ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ οὐ  
 προφέρειται τὴν γὰρ τρίτην μερὸς κατὰ τὴν  
 βορείαν πλευρὰν εἰπόντα ἀφαιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς  
 ἀπὸ Κασπίης συνῶν εἰς τὸν Ευφράτην γαστρήν  
 σταδίων μυρίων οἴση, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιφέρειν ὅτι  
 το νοτιώτερον πλεονεχόντες τὸ ἀπὸ Βαβυλωνίως εἰς τὸν  
 ὄρον τῆς Κερμανίας μετὰ πλεονεχόντων ὅστις ἂν  
 ἑκαταεχιλίον, το δὲ πρὸς ὅσων πλευρὰν ἀπὸ

C 81

lasted about three thousand stadia. The Tigris and the Euphrates he says flow from Armenia southwards, and then as a mountainous tract intervenes of Gordyene they describe a great river and enclose a considerable territory Mesopotamia, and then they turn toward the outer rim of the river and he south but more so the Euphrates, and the Euphrates after flowing ever nearer to the Tigris in the neighbourhood of the 40th of North latitude and a range called that from which a ago the Euphrates was distant was about two hundred stadia, and after flowing through Babylon, escapes into the Persian Gulf. As it comes to pass he says that the shores of Mesopotamia and Armenia is like that of a gulf. Such then are the statements which Eratosthenes has made.

Now as regards the T and bottom although there are notes in some which Eratosthenes makes, and I shall draw those out he does not say at all in the matters for which I am now responsible. Let us see what Ptolemy has to say. In his desire to establish the same statement namely that the distance from the farther to the south as Eratosthenes requires he says it will be particularly obvious from Eratosthenes own statement that we must not do so. For after first saying that the T and bottom is marked off on the northern side by the line drawn from the Caucasus (then to the Euphrates) a distance of ten thousand stadia, Eratosthenes will state on that the same side which runs from Babylon to the frontiers of Armenia is not less than a hundred stadia in length, and the only on the west from Damascus and the

<sup>1</sup> See footnote II, page 166.



Epheesus to Babylon to four thousand eight hundred  
stadia, and not from Baryas to the outlet of the  
Euxines at three thousand stadia, and as for the  
distance north of Thyamus one of them has been  
measured as far as one thousand one hundred  
stadia, while the remainder is still unmeasured.  
Then says Strabo that since the northern side of  
the Taurus extends about ten thousand stadia and  
since the distance from the outlet of the Taurus to Baryas  
to the eastern side was reckoned as five thousand  
stadia, since the distance from Baryas to the outlet of  
the Taurus was reckoned as five thousand stadia it is clear  
that Baryas is not much more than a thousand  
stadia further east than the passage of Thyamus.

28 My report will be if with geometrical  
precision, we take the Carman lines and the  
frontiers of Carmania and Persia as upon the same  
straight line, and if we draw the line to  
Thyamus and hence to Babylon at right angles  
with the said straight line, then that per-  
pendicular line will be a straight line. Indeed the  
line through Baryas is further produced as far as the  
straight line through Thyamus, and to the  
end of the perpendicular line, creates approximate equality  
to the distance from the Carman lines to Thyamus, and  
hence Baryas is not much more to be farther east than  
Thyamus, & as much as the line from the Carman  
lines to Thyamus exceeds the line from the  
Carman lines to Babylon. But, in the first

place without doubt it is to be supposed as this point  
Strabo proceeds to show the fallacy of Hipparchus's  
measurements, and as he does so he brings to a point,  
as he is now proceeding, the greater absurdity on the part of  
Baryas.

\* This is the line drawn perpendicular to the meridian  
that passes through the Carmanian frontier.



τῆς διορίζουσας γραμμῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς τῆς Ἀριανῆς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίου καὶ καὶ εἰρηκεν Ἐρωτοσθένης, εὐδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Κασπίου πυλῶν ἐπὶ θαψακὸς πρὸς ἑρβάς τῇ διὰ τὸν Κασπίον πυλῶν μεσημβρινῇ, ἀλλὰ μάλλον τῇ τῷ ἔρει γραφομένην, πρὸς ἣν ἡ ἐπὶ θαψακὸς τῶν καὶ ποιεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου κατὰ γωνίαν ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἔρει γραμμὴ εὐθ' ἡ ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα ἡγμένη ἀπὸ τῆς Καρμασίας παραλλήλως εἰρηται τῇ ἐπὶ θαψακὸς ἡγμένη· οὐδ' αὖ παραλλήλως ἦν, καὶ πρὸς ἑρβάς δε τῇ διὰ Κασπίου πυλῶν μεσημβρινῇ, οὐδὲν δὲ ὄνυστο πλὴν πρὸς συλλογισμὸν

- 39 Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λαβὼν εἰς ἑτοίμοι καὶ δεῖξαι, ὥς εἴεται, διότι ἡ Βαβυλωνία ἐπὶ Ἐρωτοσθένος θαψακὸς ἀνατολικωτέρα ἐστὶ μικρῷ πλεονεῖ ἢ χίλιαι σταδία, καὶ ἄλλως πλεονεῖ λῆμμα αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν εἰρη ἀποδείξει, καὶ φησὶ, εἰν ἀνατολῇ ἀπὸ θαψακὸς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίας εὐθεία ἄγεται καὶ ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνας ἐπὶ ταύτης καθέως, τριγώνου ὀρθογωνίου ἀσπῆς, συνεστήκει δὲ τε τῆς ἀπὸ θαψακὸς ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα τριγώνου πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνας καθέως ἐπὶ τῇ διὰ θαψακὸς μεσημβρινῇ γραμμῇ πημιση καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ διὰ θαψακὸς μεσημβρινῇ· τούτου δὲ τοῦ τριγώνου τῆς μετ' ὑπερτερουσας τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ θαψακὸς ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα τριγώνου ἦν φησὶ τετραεσχίλιον ὀστασιον εἶναι τῆς δ' ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνας αὐτῆς τῇ διὰ θαψακὸς μεσημβρινῇ γραμμῇ



καθέτου μικρῷ πλείονων ἢ χιλίων, ὅσων ἦν ἡ ὑπερ-  
 οχή τῆς ἐπὶ Θαψακου πρὸς τὴν μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος.  
 ἐκ δὲ τούτων καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν ἑρβῆς  
 συλλογίζεται πολλαπλασίον ὅσων τῆς λεχθείσης  
 καθέτου. προστίθῃσι δὲ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀπὸ Θαψακου  
 πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐκβαλλομένην μέχρι τῶν Ἀρμενίων  
 ὁρῶν, ἦε τὸ μὲν ἔφη μεμετρηῆσθαι Ἐρατοσθένους  
 καὶ εἶναι χιλίων ἑκατόν, τὸ δ' ἀμέτρητον ἔφ.  
 οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦλάχιστον ὑποτίθεται χιλίων, ὥστε  
 τὸ συνάμφω δισχιλίων καὶ ἑκατὸν γίνεσθαι· ὃ  
 προσθεὶς τῇ ἐπ' αὐθείᾳ πλευρᾷ τοῦ τριγώνου  
 μέχρι τῆς καθέτου τῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πολλῶν  
 χιλιαδῶν λογίζεται διαστήμα τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρ-  
 μενίων ὁρῶν καὶ τοῦ δι' Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου  
 μέχρι τῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καθέτου, ἦτις ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 διὰ Βαβυλῶνος παραλλήλου ἴδρυται. τὸ δὲ γὰρ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ δι' Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ  
 Βαβυλῶνος δοικνυσιν οὐ μείζων ὢν σταδίων δισχι-  
 λίων τετρακοσίῳ, ὑποτεθεώτοι τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ  
 παντὸς τοσοῦτων σταδίων, ὅσων Ἐρατοσθένης  
 φησὶν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἂν ἦν τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀρμενικὰ  
 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ταύρου ἐπὶ τοῦ δι' Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου,  
 ὥς Ἐρατοσθένης, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶτε χιλιάσι σταδίων  
 ἄρκτικωτερα πατ' αὐτὸν ἑκείνους. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> From the Caspian Gates.

<sup>2</sup> From the Carmanian frontiers.

the amount by which the line to Thapaneus<sup>1</sup> exceeded the one up to Batiem<sup>2</sup> and then from these sums he figures the ~~line~~ <sup>sum</sup> of the two lines which form the right angle to be many furlongs longer than the said perpendicular. And he adds to it all the line produced northwards from Batiem up to the Armenian mountains, one part of which Eratosthenes said had been measured and was one thousand one hundred stadia, but the other part he leaves out of consideration as unmeasured. Hipparchus assumes for the other part a thousand stadia at the least, so that the sum of the two parts amounts to two thousand one hundred stadia, and adding this sum to the straight line side of the triangle which is drawn to meet its perpendicular from Batiem Hipparchus assumes a ~~distance~~ <sup>sum</sup> of several thousand stadia, ~~greater~~ <sup>greater</sup> than that from the Armenian mountains, or the ~~distance~~ <sup>sum</sup> that runs through Athens to the perpendicular from Batiem — which proposition he has on the ground that runs through Batiem. At any rate he points out that the distance from the ~~point~~ <sup>sum</sup> through Athens to that through Batiem is not more than two thousand four hundred stadia. It is assumed that the whole mountain is the number of stadia in length that Eratosthenes says and if this is so then the mountains of Armenia and those of the Taurus could not be on the ~~point~~ <sup>sum</sup> that runs through Athens, as Eratosthenes says they do, but many thousand stadia farther north, according to Eratosthenes own statements. At this point,

<sup>1</sup> In § 24 Strabo indicates clearly that Eratosthenes did not say the ~~point~~ <sup>sum</sup> was one straight line. But Hipparchus took this for granted.

## STRANO

[illegible]

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then, in addition to making further use of his more detailed account for the construction of his right angled triangle he then assumes the point that is not granted name - that the distance of the straight line from Timpone to Harney is only a few thousand eight hundred stadia. For Eudoxus and not we that this route is along the hypothesis but when he tells us that Mompotona including Harney, is circumscribed by a great circle by the Eudoxus and the line he asserts - the greater part of the circumference is described by the straight line - the straight line from Timpone to Harney would neither follow the course of the Euphrates nor be even approximately in many stadia in length. In his argument a serious Andromeda have already stated that if we grant that two lines are drawn from the same point, one to Timpone the other to last part of the American Mountain that corresponds in position to Timpone which according to Harney as himself is distant from Timpone at the east ten thousand one hundred stadia - it is impossible for both these lines to be parallel either to each other or to the line through Harney in which Eudoxus could not have been. Now because Eudoxus could not speak of the route along the mountain range as measured, he speaks of the route from Timpone to the Arabian Sea as measured, and he admits the whole may be speaking of the same since he never wished to be the length of the country between Timpone and the Euphrates it did not make much difference whether he measured the route or the other. But Hipparchus when he barely assumes

λέγεσθαι τελείως ἂν δόξειε καταγινώσκειν παιδικὴν ἀμαθίαν τάνθρώπου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔαν δεῖ ὡς παιδικά.

30. Ἄ δ' ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιο τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους τοιαῦτα ἐστί. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ κατὰ μέλος τομὴ τῆς ἄλλως κατὰ μέρος διαφέρει (διότι ἡ μὲν καὶ τὰ μέρη λαμβάνει περιγραφὴν ἔχοντα φυσικὴν, ἀρθρώσει τινὶ καὶ τύπῳ σημειῶσαι, καθ' ὃ καὶ τοῦτο εἴρηται,

τὸν δὲ διὰ μελειστὴ ταμόν,

(Οἰ. θ. 391, II. 24 409)

ἡ δ' οὐδὲν ἔχει τοιούτου), χρώμεθα δ' οἰκείως ἑκατέρᾳ, τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν χρείαν σκοποῦντες, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν γεωγραφικῶν δεῖ μὲν τομὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μερῶν, τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα ἐπιόντας, μιμνεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς κατὰ μέλος τομὰς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὡς ἔτυχε. τὸ γὰρ σημειῶσαι καὶ τὸ εὐπεριόριστον ἐκείθεν λαβεῖν ἔστιν, οὐ χρείαν ἔχει ὁ γεωγράφος. εὐπεριόριστον δέ, ὅταν ἡ ποταμοῖς ἢ ὄρεσιν ἢ θαλάττῃ δυνατὸν ᾖ, καὶ ἔθνη δὲ ἢ ἔθνησι καὶ μεγέθει ποσῶ καὶ σχήματι, ὅπου τοῦτο δυνατόν. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ γεωμετρικῶς τὸ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὁλοσχερῶς ἱκανόν. μέγεθος μὲν οὖν ἱκανόν ἐστιν, ἂν τὸ μέγιστον εἴπῃς μῆκος καὶ πλάτος, ὡς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τὰ μυριάδων πέντε τύχοι μῆκος, πλάτος δ' ἑξαττον ἢ ἡμισυ μικρῶ τοῦ μήκους· σχῆμα δ', ἂν τῶν γεωμετρικῶν τινε σχημάτων εἰκάσῃς, ὡς τὴν Σικελίαν τριγώνῳ, ἢ

that the lines are spoken of by *Erastosthenes* as persons would seem to charge the man with giving a British guarantee. I suppose I must discuss these arguments of his in detail.

But the charges which one might bring against *Erastosthenes* are still serious. Just as a map is computed in at the same date as from some other more computation because he himself says of it, "the parts that have a better, we have not from some astronomical of sorts of a significant nature the meaning of which I have not found having not been explained by me." Whereas the fact is, we are such a matter and will go it is proper for us to use such kind of argument; we have argued to the proper time and the proper use of our time in the use of geography we must indeed make mention of the parts which we possess them in detail, but we must include the whole in such computation as we then have beyond computation. For we have a plan to take off the moment that we have a plan to define the nature of our world at a general level has not yet been done. Now a country we discuss when it is possible to define it as to its nature and its size, not only by a table of letters in a word such and with proportions and by shape where this is possible. But in every case there is a geometrical deduction a major and a right method deduction to substantiate the argument. So much as we can state to present our geographical knowledge of the inhabited world we can state a list of perhaps twenty thousand states a breadth of the world had the right and no regard to the fact that we require to use of the geographical world, for example to a bridge, or to one of the



CM

τῶν ἄλλων νομοίων τιμὴ σφραγισθῇ. εἴτε τὰς  
Ἱερῶν ἀπορρογῶν, τὰς Πολυνομήτων πλεονεξίας  
φιλικῶς δοῦν ἢ ἂν μείζον ὃ τὰ νομοεικῶς  
νομοῖα καὶ ἀποσφραγιστέον εἴησι ἂν ποιεῖσθαι  
τοὺς νόμους.

[illegible]

• the *Proton* (proton + red line above)

\* 1st - 4pm, for 1st, Monday following, C Miller arriving.

other well known figures for instance Iberia to an oval, the Paeonians to a leaf of a plane tree. And the grove or the territory was cut into sections, the name might may be the best as you make.

31 Now the inhabited world has been happily divided by Eratosthenes into two parts by means of the Taurus Range and the sea that stretches to the Pillars. And in the Southern Division India, indeed, has been well defined in many ways, by a mountain, a river a sea, and by a single term as of a single ethnical group—so that Eratosthenes rightly calls it four-sided and rhomboidal. Ariana, however has a contour that is less easy to trace because its western side is confused,<sup>1</sup> but still it is defined by line three sides which are approximately straight lines, and also by the term Ariana, as of a single ethnical group. But the Third Section is wholly untraceable at all events as defined by Eratosthenes. For in the first place, the side common to it and Ariana is confused as I have previously stated. And the southern side has been taken very inaccurately for neither does it trace a boundary of this section since it runs through its very centre and leaves out many districts in the south nor does it represent the section's greatest length for the northern side is longer, nor does the Euphrates form its western side. I would not do so even if its course lay in a straight line, since its extremities do not lie on the same meridian. In fact how can this side be called western rather than southern? And, quite apart from these objections, since the distance that remains between this line and the Caspian and Syrian Seas is slight, there is no convincing reason why the section should

<sup>1</sup> See § 22, above.

θαπόν, τῆς τε Σεμεραμίδος καὶ τοῦ Νίνου Σύρων  
 λεγομένης, ὣν τῆς μὲν ἡ Βαβυλὼν κτίσμα καὶ  
 βασιλείου, τοῦ δὲ Νινος, ὡς ἂν μητροπόλις τῆς  
 Συρίας, καὶ τῆς διαλέκτου δὲ μέχρι νυν διαμενούσης  
 τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐντός. τὸ<sup>1</sup> δὲ<sup>2</sup> ἐνταῦθα μέντοι τοιοῦτ' ἡμισμῶ  
 διασπᾶν ἔθνος γνωριμώτατον καὶ τὰ μέρη συν-  
 ἄπτειν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐθνέσις ἡκιστα ἂν πρέποι. οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἀπηναγκάσθαι λέγοι ἂν καὶ  
 γὰρ τὸ μέχρι θαλάττης οὐ μὴν πῶς ἂν ἐξισύζοιτο  
 τῇ Ἰνδικῇ, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τῇ Ἀριανῇ, προσλαβὼν καὶ  
 τὸ μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς εὐδαιμονος Ἀραβίας καὶ  
 τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὥστε πολὺ κρείττον ἦν μέχρι  
 δεῦρο προελθεῖν, τῆς τρίτης εἰπόντα σφραγίδος  
 τοσαύτη προσθήκη τῇ μέχρι τῆς Συριακῆς θα-  
 λάττης τὸ μὲν νότιον πλευρον οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκείναι  
 εἶπεν ἔχον, οὐδ' ἐπ' εὐθείας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς Καρ-  
 μανίας εὐθεὶ τὴν δεξιάν παραλίαν εὐπλάουντι  
 παρὰ<sup>3</sup> τὸν Περσικὸν κόλπον μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς  
 τοῦ Εὐφράτου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ὀρίαις τῆς  
 Μεσσηνίας καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας συνάπτων, ἥπερ  
 ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ διορίζοντος τὴν εὐδαί-  
 C 85 μονα Ἀραβίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἡπείρου, εἰτ'  
 ἐφεξῆς αὐτὸν τοῦτον διεξίον, διηκόν τε μέχρι τοῦ  
 μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπον καὶ Πηλουσιου, καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Κατωβικοῦ στοματος τοῦ Νείλου τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> τό, Corais, for τό, before ἐνταῦθα; Maiake following.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ, Madvig inserts, after Corais τό.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ, Siebenkees and Corais, for γὰρ, after εὐπλάουντι, following α.

not be extended thence both towards Semiracis and Nisus are called *Syrus* (Halicarn was founded and made the royal residence by Semiracis, and Ninveh by Nisus, the showing that Ninveh was the capital of Syria, and because up to the present moment even the language of the people on both sides of the Euphrates is the same). However, to rend asunder so famous a nation by such a line of cleavage in this region and to join the parts then dismembered to the parts that belong to other tribes, would be wholly improper. Neither, indeed, could Eratosthenes allege that he was forced to do this by considerations of size: for the addition of the territory that extends up to the sea would still not make the size of the section equal to that of India, nor, for that matter, to that of Arana, not even if it were increased by the territory that extends up to the confines of Arabia Felix and Egypt. Therefore it would have been much better to extend the Third Section to those limits and then, by adding to it still a territory that extends to the Syrian Sea, to define the southern side of the Third Section as running not as Eratosthenes defined it, nor yet as in a straight line but as following the coast line that is on your right hand as you sail from Carmania into and along the Persian Gulf up to the mouth of the Euphrates, and then as following the frontiers of Mesene and Babylonia, which form the beginning of the Isthmus that separates Arabia Felix from the rest of the continent, then next as crossing this Isthmus itself, and as reaching to the recess of the Arabian Gulf and to Persicum and even beyond to the Canobic mouth of the Nile. So much for the

<sup>1</sup> The Mediterranean.

μὲν τὸ κῆτιον πλευράν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐσπέριον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στομάτος μέχρι τῆς Κιλικίας παραλίαν.

32 Τετάρτη δ' ἂν εἴη σφραγὶς ἡ συνεστῶσα ἐκ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης καὶ τῆς Λιβυπίας. ταυτῆς δὲ τῆς μεριδοῦς μήκος μὲν ἴσται τὸ ἀφοριζόμενον ὑπὸ δυεῖν μεσημβρινῶν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραφεται διὰ τοῦ δυσμικωτάτου σημείου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ὁ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐωθινωτάτου· πλάτος δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ δυεῖν παραλλήλων, ὧν ὁ μὲν γραφεται διὰ τοῦ βορικοτατου σημείου, ὁ δὲ διὰ τοῦ νοτικωτάτου· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνωμύλων σχημάτων, ἐφ' ὧν πλευραῖς οὐ δυνατόν ἀφορισαί πλάτος καὶ μήκος, οὕτω τὸ μέγεθος ἀφοριστέον. καθόλου δὲ νοήτεον, ὅτι οὐχ ἑσαύτως λέγεται μήκος καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ ὅλῳ καὶ μέρει· ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅλου μὲν τὸ μαῖζον διαστήμα καλεῖται μήκος, τὸ δ' ἑλαττον πλάτος, ἐπὶ μέρει δὲ μήκος μὲν τὸ παραλλήλον τῷ τοῦ ὅλου μηκεὶ τμήμα ἑκείνου, ὅποτερον ἂν ᾖ μαῖζον, κἂν τὸ ληφθὲν διαστήμα ἐν τῷ πλεῖτε μαῖζον ᾖ τοῦ ληφθέντος ἐν τῷ μήκει διαστήματος. διὸ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπ' ανατολῆς ἐπὶ δυσὶν μηκυνομένης, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρκτῶν ἐπὶ ροτῶν πλατυνομένης, καὶ τοῦ μὲν μήκους ἐπὶ παραλλήλου τινος τῷ ἰσημερινῷ γραφομένου, τοῦ δὲ πλάτους ἐπὶ μεσημβρινοῦ, δεῖ καὶ τῶν μερῶν λαμβανέσθαι μήκη μὲν τὰ παραλλήλα τῷ μηκεὶ τμήματα αὐτῆς, πλατῆ δὲ τὰ τῷ πλεῖτε. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἀμείψον ὑπογραφοῖτε

southern side, the remaining, or western, side would be the coast line from the Canobic mouth of the Nile up to Cilicia.

33 The Fourth Section would be the one composed of Arabia Felix the Arabian Gulf, all Egypt, and Ethiopia. Of this section the length will be the space bounded by two meridian lines, of which lines the one is drawn through the most western point on the section and the other through the most eastern point. Its breadth will be the space between two parallels of latitude of which the one is drawn through the most northern point and the other through the most southern point, for in the case of irregular figures whose length and breadth it is impossible to determine by rules, we must in this way determine their size. And, in general, we must assume that "length" and "breadth" are not employed in the same sense of a whole as of a part. On the contrary, in case of a whole the greater distance is called "length," and the lesser, "breadth." But, in case of a part we call "length" any section of a part that is parallel to the length of the whole—no matter which of the two dimensions is the greater, and no matter if the distance taken in the breadth be greater than the distance taken in the length. Therefore since the inhabited world stretches lengthwise from east to west and breadthwise from north to south, and since its length is drawn on a line parallel to the equator and its breadth on a meridian line we must now, in case of the parts take as "lengths" all the sections that are parallel to the length of the inhabited world and as "breadths" all the sections that are parallel to its breadth. For by this method we can better indicate,

πρώτον μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔλπει, ἔπειτα καὶ ἡ διάθεσις καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν μερῶν, καθ' ἃ μὲν ἀπολείπειν, καθ' ἃ δὲ πλεονάζειν φαινομένων τῇ τοιαύτῃ παραθήσει.

33. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς οἰκουμένης λαμβάνει μῆκος ἐπὶ τῇ διὰ Στηλῶν καὶ Κασπίων πυλῶν καὶ Καυκάσου γραμμῇ, ὡς ἂν εὐθείας, τὸ δὲ τῆς τρίτης μερίδος ἐπὶ τῆς διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν καὶ Θαψάκου, τὸ δὲ τῆς τετάρτης ἐπὶ τῆς διὰ Θαψάκου καὶ Ἡρώων πόλεως μέχρι τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἣν ἀνάγκη καταστρέφειν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Κάνωβον καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείαν τοπούς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἔσχατον στάμα τὰ καλούμενον Κανωβικόν τε καὶ Ἡρακλεωτικόν. εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀλλήλαις τὰ μήκη τίθουσιν, εἴθ' ὡς ἂν γωνίαν ποιοῦντα κατὰ Θαψάκου, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε οὐ παραλληλόν οὐδέτερον τῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης μήκει, φανερόν ἐστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὃν εἶρηκεν αὐτός. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης μῆκος διὰ τοῦ Ταύρου γράφει καὶ τῆς ἐπ' εὐθείας μέχρι Στηλῶν θαλάττης κατὰ γραμμὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀθηνῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν κατὰ τὸν δι' αὐτῶν μεσημβρινὸν σὺ πάλυ ἐλάττους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων φησὶν εἶναι σταδίων ὥστε τοσοῦτον καὶ οἱ παραλληλοὶ διέχουσιν ἂν ἀλλήλων ὅ τε διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁ δ' αὐτός πῶς ἔστι τούτῳ ὁ διὰ τῆς Ἡρώων πόλεως, ἢ νοτιώτερός γε τούτου.

firstly, the size of the inhabited world as a whole, and, secondly, the position and the shape of its parts, because, by such comparison it will be clear in what respects the parts are deficient and in what respects they are excessive in size.

33 Now Eratosthenes takes the length of the inhabited world on the line that runs through the Pillars, the Caspian Gates, and the Caucasus, as though on a straight line, and the length of his Third Section on the line that runs through the Caspian Gates and Thapsacus, and the length of his Fourth Section on the line that runs through Thapsacus and Heronopolis in the region between the mouths of the Nile—a line which must needs come to an end in the regions near Canopus and Alexandria, for the last mouth of the Nile called the Canobic or Heracleotic mouth is situated at that point. Now whether he places these two lengths on a straight line with each other, or as though they formed an angle at Thapsacus, it is at any rate clear from his own words that he does not make either line parallel to the length of the inhabited world. For he draws the length of the inhabited world through the Taurus Range and the Mediterranean Sea straight to the Pillars on a line that passes through the Caucasus, Rhodes and Athens, and he says that the distance from Rhodes to Alexandria on the meridian that passes through those places is not much less than four thousand stades, so that also the parallels of latitude of Rhodes and Alexandria would be just this distance apart. But the parallel of latitude of Heronopolis is approximately the same as that of Alexandria, or, at any rate, more to the south than the latter, and hence the line that intersects



ὅσθ' ἡ συμπίπτουσα γραμμὴ τούτῳ τε<sup>1</sup> τῇ παραλλήλῳ καὶ τῷ διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Κασπίων πυλῶν, εἴτ' εὐθεία εἴτε κεκλασμένη, οὐκ ἂν εἴη παράλληλος οὐδετέρα. οὐκ εὖ γοῦν λαμβάνεται τὰ μήκη· οὐκ εὖ δὲ οὐδὲ αἱ διαβόρειαι λαμβάνονται μερίδες.

34. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱππαρχον πρότερον ἔπανιόντες τὰ ἐξῆς ἴδωμεν. πάλιν γὰρ πλάσας ἐαυτῷ λήμματα γεωμετρικῶς ἀνασκευάζει τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τυπωδῶς λεγόμενα. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν λεγεῖν τὸ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς μὲν Κασπίους πύλας διέστημα σταδίων ἑξακισχιλίων ἑπτακοσίων, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Καρμανίας καὶ Περσίδος πλειόνων ἢ ἑνακισχιλίων,<sup>2</sup> ὅπερ ἐπὶ γραμμῇ κείται πρὸς ἰσημερινὰς ἀνατολὰς εὐθείας ἀγομένης· γίνεσθαι δὲ ταύτην κάθετον ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν πλευρὰν τῆς τε δευτέρας καὶ τῆς τρίτης σφραγίδος, ὥστε κατ' αὐτὸν συνίστασθαι τριγωνοῦ ὀρθογώνιον, ὀρθὴν ἔχον τὴν πρὸς τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Καρμανίας, καὶ τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν εἶναι ἐλάττω μᾶς τῶν περὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν ἔχουσῶν· δεῖν οὖν τὴν Περσίδα τῆς δευτέρας ποιεῖν σφραγίδος. πρὸς ταῦτα δ' εἴρηται, ὅτι οὐθ' ἡ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν Καρμανίαν ἐπὶ παραλλήλῳ λαμβάνεται, οὐθ' ἡ διορίζουσα εὐθεία τὰς σφραγίδας μεσημβρινῇ εἴρηται· ὥστ' οὐδὲν εἴρηται πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐδὲ τὸ ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> τε, Μοινοκο, for γε.

<sup>2</sup> ἑνακισχιλίων, Μοινοκο, for ἑξακισχιλίων.

both the parallel of latitude of Hieronopolis and that of Rhodes and the Caspian Gates, whether it be a straight line or a broken line cannot be parallel to either. According to the lengths are not well taken by Eratosthenes. And for that matter the sections that stretch through the north are not well taken by him.<sup>1</sup>

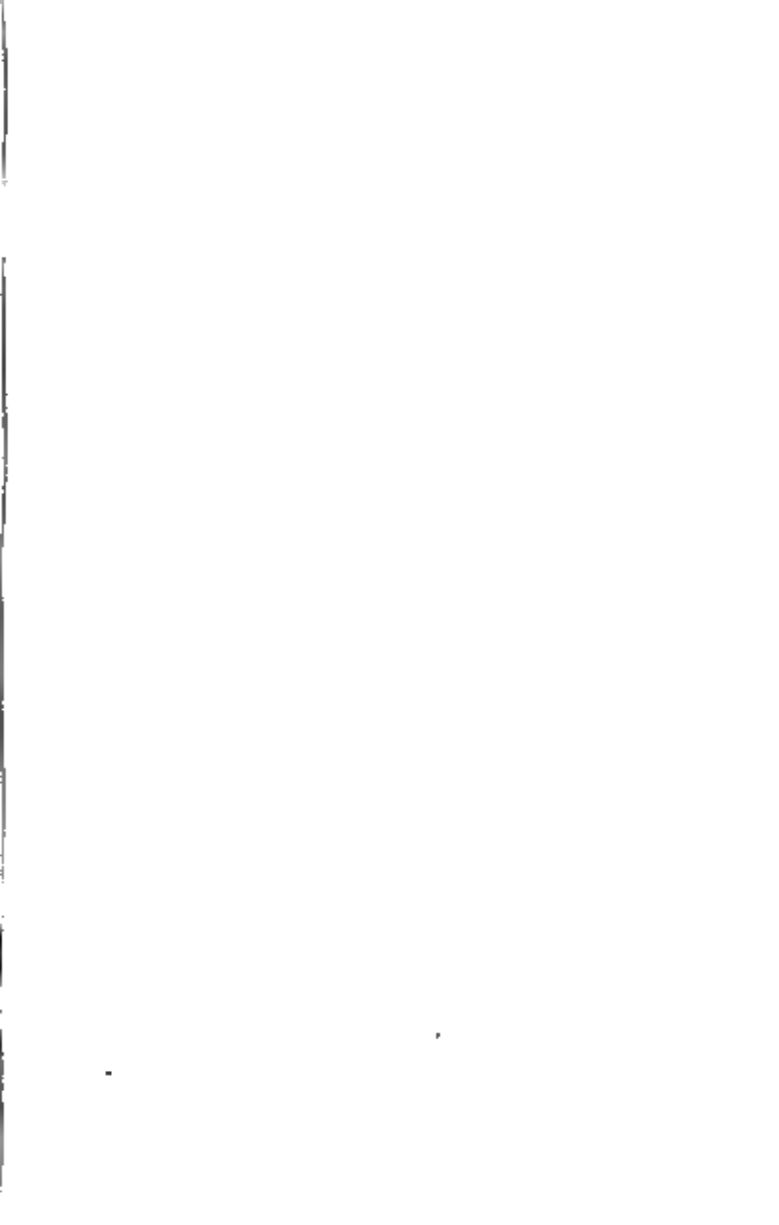
34 But let us first return to Hipparchus and see what he says next. Again fabricating assumptions on his own account he proceeds with geometrical precision to denounce what are merely the rough estimates of Eratosthenes. He says that Eratosthenes calls the distance from Babylon to the Caspian Gates six thousand seven hundred stadia, and to the frontiers of Carmania and Persia more than nine thousand stadia on a line drawn straight to the equinoctial east, and that this line comes to be perpendicular to the side that is common to the Second and the Third Sections, and that, therefore according to Eratosthenes, a right-angled triangle is formed whose right angle lies on the frontiers of Carmania and whose hypotenuse is shorter than one of the sides that enclose the right angle<sup>2</sup>, according to which Hipparchus Eratosthenes has to make Persia a part of his Second Section.<sup>3</sup> Now I have already stated in reply to this that Eratosthenes neither takes the distance from Babylon to Carmania on a parallel, nor has he spoken of the straight line that separates the two sections as a meridian line, and so in this argument Hipparchus has made no point against Eratosthenes. Neither in his subsequent conclusion

<sup>1</sup> That is, the sections that stretch north of the Taurus Range.

<sup>2</sup> See the figure and the note on page 222.

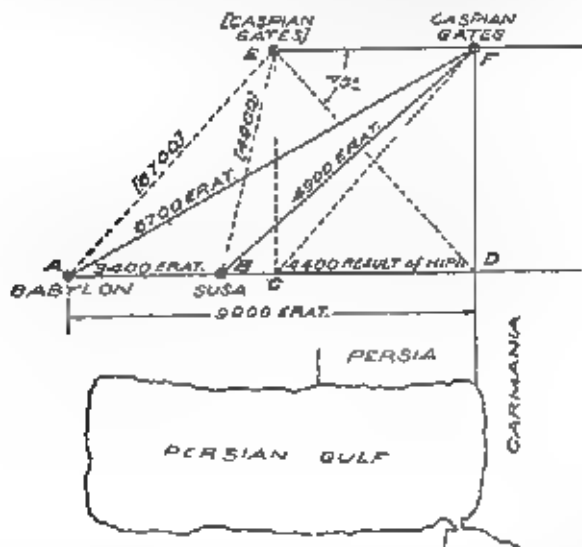
φερόμενον εὖ εἰρηκότος γὰρ ἀπὸ Κασπίων  
 πυλῶν εἰς μὲν Βαβυλῶνα τοὺς λαχθέντας, εἰς δὲ  
 Σούσα σταδίους εἶναι τετρακισχιλίους ἱνακοσίους,<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀπὸ δὲ Βαβυλῶνος τρισχιλίους τετρακοσίους, πάλιν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρμηθεῖς ὑποθίσεων ἀμβλυγώ-  
 νιον τρίγωνον συνίστασθαι φησι πρὸς τε ταῖς  
 Κασπίαις πύλαις καὶ Σούσαις καὶ Βαβυλῶνι,  
 τὴν ἀμβλείαν γωνίαν ἔχον πρὸς Σούσαις, τὰ δὲ  
 τῶν πλευρῶν μήκη τὰ ἑκκείμενα· εἰτ' ἐπιλογί-  
 ζεται, διότι συμβήσεται κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις  
 ταύτας τῇ διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν μεσημβρινῇ  
 γραμμῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σούσων  
 παραλλήλου δυσμικωτέραν ἔχειν τὴν κοινὴν το-  
 μὴν τῆς κοινῆς τομῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου καὶ  
 τῆς ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν καθηκούσης εὐθείας  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τοὺς τῆς Καρμανίας καὶ τῆς  
 Περσίδος πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ τετρα-  
 κοσίων σχεδόν δὴ τι πρὸς τὴν διὰ Κασπίων  
 πυλῶν μεσημβρινῇ γραμμῇ ἡμίσειαν ὀρθῆς  
 ποιεῖν γωνίαν τῇ διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν καὶ τῶν  
 ὁρῶν τῆς τε Καρμανίας καὶ τῆς Περσίδος, καὶ  
 κεύειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μίσα τῆς τε μεσημβρίας  
 καὶ τῆς ἰσημερινῆς ἀνατολῆς· ταύτῃ δ' εἶναι  
 παραλλήλον τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτον  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν βεῖν, ὡς φησιν  
 Ἑρατοσθένης, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς  
 ἰσημερινῆς ἀνατολῆς, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις  
 πίναξι καταγέγραπται. τις οὖν συγχωρήσει  
 τὸ νῦν συσταθεῖν τρίγωνον ἀμβλυγώνιον εἶναι, μὴ

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## STRABO

Taking advantage of the rather loose estimates of Eratosthenes, and aided by false assumptions, Hipparchus again follows the process of *reductio ad absurdum* by applying the figures of Eratosthenes to latitudinal and longitudinal distances. Thus, Hipparchus forces Eratosthenes' Caspian Gates to be 4,400 stadia to the west of its real position, and hence Persis would fall into the Second Section. However,



Eratothene's line from Babylon to Carmania, Strabo means, would not be the line  $AD$ , but a line drawn from  $A$  and diverging considerably to the south from  $AD$ . Of course, if Hipparchus' assumptions be granted, the Indus would have to be parallel to  $ED$ , and it would make an angle with the parallel  $EF$  of slightly more than  $45^\circ$ , though the Indus should really run about due south.

correct. For, because Eratosthenes had given the distance from the Caspian Gates to Babylon as the said six thousand seven hundred stadia, and the distance from the Caspian Gates to Susa as four thousand nine hundred stadia, and the distance from Babylon to Susa as three thousand four hundred stadia, Hipparchus, again starting from the same hypothesis, says that an obtuse angled triangle is formed with its vertices at the Caspian Gates, Susa and Babylon, having its obtuse angle at Susa, and having as the lengths of its sides the data set forth by Eratosthenes. Then he draws his conclusion, namely that it will follow according to these hypotheses that the meridian line that runs through the Caspian Gates will intersect the parallel that runs through Babylon and Susa at a point further west than the intersection of the same parallel with the straight line that runs from the Caspian Gates to the frontiers of Carmania and Persia by more than four thousand four hundred stadia, and so the line that runs through the Caspian Gates to the frontiers of Carmania and Persia will form almost a half of a right angle with the meridian line that runs through the Caspian Gates and will lean in a direction midway between the south and the equatorial east, and that the Indus River will be parallel to this line, and that consequently this river, also, does not flow south from the mountains as Eratosthenes says it does but between the south and the equatorial east precisely as it is laid down on the early maps. We may, will concede that the triangle now formed by Hipparchus is obtuse angled without also conceding that the triangle that

συγχωρῶν ὀρθογώνιον εἶναι τὸ περιέχον αὐτό; τίς δ' ἐπὶ παραλλήλου κειμένην τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Σοῦσα μίαν τῶν τὴν ἀμβλείαν περιχουσῶν, τὴν ὅλην μὴ συγχωρῶν τὴν μέχρι Καρμανίας; τίς δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ παράλληλον τὴν ἀπὸ Κασπίων κυλῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Καρμανίας, ὧν χωρὶς κενός ἂν εἴη ὁ συλλογισμός. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ κείνος εἶρηκεν ὅτι βομβοειδὲς ἐστὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ καθίπερ ἡ ἐωθινή πλευρὰ παρέσπασται πολὺ πρὸς ἑω, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, ὃ καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν προπίπτει πλεον παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἡύονα, οὕτω καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν πλευρὰ.

35. Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα λέγει γεωμετρικῶς, ἐλέγχων οὐ πιθανῶς. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπενέγκας ἀπολύεται, φήσας, εἰ μὲν παρὰ μικρὰ διαστήματα ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἔλεγχος, συγγνωῖναι ἂν ἦν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ χιλιάδας σταδίων φαίνεται διαπίπτων, οὐκ εἶναι συγγνωστά· καίτοι ἐκείνόν γε καὶ παρὰ τετρακοσίους σταδίους αἰσθητὰ ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὰ παραλλάγματα, ὥς ἐπὶ τοῦ δι' Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου καὶ τοῦ διὰ Ῥοδου. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ πρὸς αἰσθησιν οὐχ ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐν πλάτει μαίζονι, τὸ δ' ἐν ἐλάττονι. μείζονι μὲν, ἂν αὐτῷ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ πιστεύωμεν ἢ καρποῖς ἢ

<sup>1</sup> If the line *EH* (p. 328) be produced to Eratosthenes' *Susa* (on his line drawn from *A* to *Carmania*), we shall then have a right-angled triangle *AHE* that comprehends the obtuse-angled triangle *AEB*.

comprehends it is right-angled<sup>1</sup>. And who will concede that one of the sides which enclose the obtuse angle the line from Babylon to Susa is on a parallel of latitude, without also conceding that the whole line on to Carmania does? And who will concede that the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the frontiers of Carmania is parallel to the Indus? Yet without these concessions the argument of Hipparchus would be void. And it is without these concessions that Eratosthenes has made his statement that the shape of India is thus ~~was~~ and ~~set~~ as its eastern side has been stretched round ~~round~~ eastwards particularly of its extreme cape which, as compared with the rest of the continent is also thrown farther southwards, so that the side along the Indus has been stretched considerably eastwards.

It is in these arguments Hipparchus speaks as a geometer, though his test of Eratosthenes is not convincing. And though he presented the principles of geometry for himself he excuses himself from them by saying that if the test showed errors amounting to many stadia he could overlook them, but since Eratosthenes errors clearly amount to thousands of stadia, they cannot be overlooked<sup>2</sup>. And yet continues Hipparchus, Eratosthenes himself decides that differences of latitude are observable even within an extent of four hundred stadia, for example, between the parallel of Athens and Rhodes. Now the practice of observing differences of latitude is not confined to a single method but one method is used where the difference is greater, another where it is lesser, where it is greater if we rely on the evidence of the eye itself, or of the crops,

<sup>1</sup> Compare § 28, following.



εράσειν αἰρών πρὸς τὴν τῶν κλιμάτων κρίσιν  
 ἐλάττονι δ', ἂν δι' ὀργάνων γνωμονικῶν ἢ διοπτρι-  
 κῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν δι' Ἀθηνῶν παράλληλος γνωμο-  
 νικῶς ληφθεὶς καὶ ὁ διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Καρίας,  
 αἰκύτως ἐν σταδίοις τοσούτοις αἰσθητὴν ἐποίησε  
 τὴν διαφοράν. ὁ δ' ἐν πλάτει μὲν τρισχιλίων  
 σταδίων, μήκει δὲ καὶ τετρακισμυρίων ὅρου,  
 πελάγους δὲ τρισμυρίων λαμβάνων τὴν ἀπὸ  
 δύσεως ἐπ' ἰσημερινὰς ἀνατολὰς γραμμὴν, καὶ τὰ  
 ὅσα ἐκάτερον τὸ μέρος τὰ μὲν νότια ὀνομαζέων,  
 τὰ δὲ βορρεῖα, καὶ ταῦτα πλανθία καλῶν καὶ  
 σφραγίδας, νοεῖσθαι πῶς καὶ ταῦτα λέγει καὶ  
 πλευρὰ τὰ μὲν ὀρκτικά, τὰ δὲ νότια, καὶ πῶς τὰ  
 μὲν ἰσπέρια, τὰ δὲ ἰσθινά· καὶ τὸ μὲν παρὰ πολὺ  
 διαμαρτανόμενον παρορῶν ὑπεχέτω λόγον (δίκαιον  
 γάρ), τὸ δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν οὐδὲ παριδὼν ἐλεγκτέος  
 ἐστίν. ἐνταῦθα δ' οὐδετέρως αὐτῷ προσάγεται  
 τις ἐλεγχος. οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ πλάτει  
 γεωμετρικὴ τις δύναται ἂν εἶναι ἡ ἀποδείξις· οὗτ'

<sup>1</sup> εἶναι, Casaubon inserts, after δύναται, Er, Eubankens, Corais, Meineke, Forbiger, following, L. Kayser approving.

<sup>2</sup> It was a common device of Eratosthenes and other ancient geographers to visualize countries and sections by comparing them to well-known objects: for example, Spain to an ox-hide, the Peloponnese to a plane-leaf, Sardinia to a human foot-print. In this case the Greek words "planitia" ("tiles") and "sphragides" ("seals," "gems") are used in a general sense as convenient terms for sections which presented, respectively, tile-shaped and seal-shaped appearances. (In § 1. 22, however, Strabo attributes only the latter word to

or of the temperature of the atmosphere, in our judgment of the "climate," but where it is lesser, we observe the difference by the aid of sundials and dioptrical instruments. Accordingly the taking of the perambles of Athens and that of Rhodes and Caria with the sun-dial showed perceptibly as is natural when the distance is so many stadia the difference in latitude. But when the geographer, in dealing with a breadth of three thousand stadia and with a length of forty thousand stadia of mountain plus thirty thousand stadia of sea, takes his line from west to equinoctial east and names the two divisions thus made the Southern Division and the Northern Division, and calls their parts "plutias" or "sphragides,"<sup>1</sup> we should bear in mind what he means by these terms, and also by the terms "sides that are northern" and "that are southern," and again, "sides that are western" and "that are eastern." And if he fails to notice that which amounts to a very great error, let him be called to account therefor for that is just; but as regards that which amounts only to a slight error, even if he has failed to notice it, he is not to be condemned. Here, however, no case is made out against Eratosthenes on either ground. For no geometrical proof would be possible where the cases involve so great a breadth of latitude, nor does

Eratosthenes and furthermore, this is the word he himself often employs in the same sense. Eratosthenes meant to convey by *sphragides* the notion of regular quadrilaterals, as shows II. 1. 1.<sup>2</sup> But so he more often he describes one of a given section. In fact, for example—he refers to it as a "rhomboidal," and in the case of the *limnæ* (lakes) he refers to "three of its sides" as "fitting into a parallelogram" (see I. I. 20).

ἐν αἷς ἑπιχειρεῖ γεωμετρεῖν, ὁμολογουμένους χρη-  
ται λήμμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ πλάσσει.

36. Εἰλπίον δὲ παρὰ τῆς τέταρτης λέγει μερίδος  
προστίθῃσι δὲ καὶ τὸ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ φιλαίτιου καὶ τοῦ  
μέναντος ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑποθέσεων ἢ τῶν παρα-  
πλησίων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμᾷ, διότι  
μῆκος ὁραμάζει τῆς μερίδος ταύτης τὴν ἀπὸ  
Θαψάκου μέχρι Αἰγύπτου γραμμὴν, ὥσπερ εἴ-  
τις παραλληλογράμμου τὴν διύμετρον μῆκος  
αὐτοῦ φαιη. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου  
κεῖται ἢ το Θαψάκος καὶ ἢ τῆς Αἰγύπτου παρα-  
λίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαστάσεων πολὺ ἀλλήλων. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
μεταξὺ διαγώνιός πως ἄγεται καὶ λοξὴ ἢ ἀπὸ  
Θαψάκου εἰς Αἰγύπτον. τὸ δὲ θαυμάζειν, πῶς  
ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων τὸ ἀπὸ  
Πηλουσίου εἰς Θαψάκον, πλείονων ὄντων ἢ ὀκτα-  
κισχιλίων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς. λαβὼν γὰρ δὲ ὑποδείξειεν  
μὲν, ὅτι ἡ διὰ Πηλουσίου παράλληλος τοῦ διὰ  
Βαβυλῶνος πλείωσιν ἢ δισχιλίοις καὶ πεντα-  
κοσίοις σταδίοις νοτιώτερός ἐστι, κατ' Ἑρατο-  
σθένη δὲ (ὡς αἴτται), διότι τοῦ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος ὁ  
διὰ τῆς Θαψάκου ἀρετικώτερος τετρακισχιλίοις

<sup>1</sup> εἰ. Camachou παρτα, αἵτα καί, Siabenskem, Corcia,  
Meineke, following, C. Maier approving.

<sup>2</sup> "Lemma," the Greek word here used, is, according to  
Proclus, a proposition previously proved, or hereafter to be  
proved, it is, therefore for any proposition at hand, an  
assumption which requires confirmation.

Hipparchus, even where he attempts geometrical proof, use admitted assumptions, but rather fabrications which he has made for his own use.

38 Hipparchus discusses Eratosthenes' Fourth Section better, though here, too, he displays his propensity for fault-finding and his persistent adherence to the same, or nearly the same, assumptions. He is correct in censuring Eratosthenes for this, namely, for calling the line from Thapaeus to Egypt the length of this section which is as if one should call the diagonal of a parallelogram its length. For Thapaeus and the coast line of Egypt do not lie on the same parallel of latitude, but on parallels that are far apart from each other, and between these two parallels the line from Thapaeus to Egypt is drawn somewhat diagonally and obliquely. But when he expresses surprise that Eratosthenes had the boldness to estimate the distance from Pelusium to Thapaeus at six thousand stadia, whereas the distance is more than eight thousand, he is incorrect. For having taken it as demonstrated that the parallel that runs through Pelusium is more than two thousand five hundred stadia farther south than the parallel that runs through Babylon<sup>1</sup> and then relying on the authority of Eratosthenes, as he thinks that the parallel through Thapaeus is four thousand eight hundred stadia farther north than the parallel through Babylon, he says that the distance between Pelusium and Thapaeus amounts

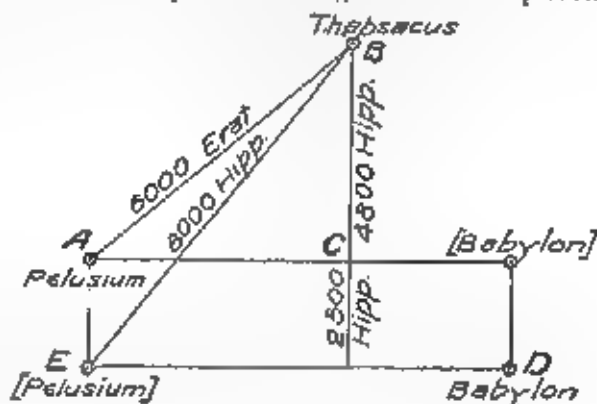
<sup>1</sup> Both Eratosthenes and Strabo gave Pelusium a higher latitude than Babylon.

ὀκτακοσίους, συμπύπτειν φησὶ πλείους τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων. πῶς οὖν κατ' Ἑρατοσθένη δέικνυται ἡ τοσαύτη ἀπόστασις τοῦ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος παραλλήλου ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ Θαψάκου, ζητῶ. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα τοσοῦτον ἔστιν, εἴρηκεν ἐκείνος· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δι' ἑκατέρου παραλλήλου ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ θατέρου, οὐκ εἴρηκεν· οὐδὲ γάρ, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῦταῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἔστιν ἡ Θαψάκος καὶ ἡ Βαβυλών. τάναντία γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἱππάρχος ἔδειξε κατ' Ἑρατοσθένη πλείωσιν ἢ δισχιλίους σταδίους συμβαίνειν ἡνατολικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τῆς Θαψάκου. ἡμεῖς τε παρετίθεμεν<sup>1</sup> τὰς Ἑρατοσθένους ἀποφάσεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν Τίγγριν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐγκυκλοῦσθαι

<sup>1</sup> παρετίθεμεν, Cornis, for παρατίθεμεν; Meineke, Tardieu, following.

<sup>1</sup> On the assumptions of Hipparchus, Eratosthenes' Thapsacus is made to be at a latitude 7,300 stadia north of Pelusium (see figure, p. 337), and hence, computing the hypotenuse of the right-angled triangle for the distance between the two places we get approximately 8,600 stadia. Hipparchus' argument is, as usual, a *reductio ad absurdum*, and his fallacy again lies, Strabo means, in his applying Eratosthenes' estimates to parallels of latitude and to meridians.

to more than eight thousand stadia.<sup>1</sup> I ask, then, how is it shown on the authority of Eratosthenes that the distance of the parallel through Babylon from the parallel through Thapsacus is as great as that? Eratosthenes has stated, indeed, that the distance from Thapsacus to Babylon is four thousand eight hundred stadia, but he has not further stated that this distance is measured from the parallel through the one place to the parallel through the other; neither indeed has he stated that Thapsacus and Babylon are on the same meridian. On the contrary, Hipparchus himself pointed out that, according to Eratosthenes, Babylon is more than two thousand stadia farther east than Thapsacus.<sup>2</sup> And I have just cited the statements of Eratosthenes wherein he says that the Tigris and the Euphrates



<sup>1</sup> Compare §§ 27-29 (above), where Hipparchus, by his usual form of argument, forces Eratosthenes' Babylon to be 1,000 stadia farther west.

τῆς τε Μεσοταμίας καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. καὶ  
 τὰ πλεον γὰρ τῆς ἐγγυκαλυσσούσης τοῦ Εὐφράτου  
 ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστὶ μεσημῆριος  
 βίοντα ἐπιστρέφουσιν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς ἐπιπτόντες  
 δι' ἐπὶ μεσημῆριον ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ μεσημῆριον  
 αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν οὐδὲν ὅτι διὰ μεσημῆριον τινος  
 ἔστιν ἢ ὅτι τὰς ἀνατολάς ἐπ' ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Βαβυλῶνα λαμβάνουσιν τε ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημ-  
 ῆριος καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ εὐθείας διὰ τὴν βλάβειν ὅτι  
 πλεον τῆς διὰ τῆς οὐδὲν εἰρήνης τετρακισχίλιον  
 καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείπειν σταδίους τὴν ἐπὶ Παλμυραν ἀπὸ  
 Βαψακίου παρα τοῦ Εὐφράτου προσέτι καθάπερ  
 ἐπιτηδὲς τοῦ μή τινα εὐθείας αὐτὴν δεξασθαι καὶ  
 μεταρρῶν τοὺς μεταξὺ διείναι παραλλήλως διαστή-  
 ματος μὴ εἰδομένου διὰ τοῦτο, ποτε ἔστι καὶ τὰ  
 ἐπιζῆς δεκασθαι δοκῶν ὅτι συνισταμένοι ἀπὸ  
 γυναικὸς τριτάτου πρὸς τὴν Πηλουσίαν καὶ Βαψακίαν  
 καὶ τῇ τομῇ τοῦ τε διὰ Βαψακίου παραλλήλου  
 καὶ τοῦ διὰ Πηλουσίας μεσημῆριος. μὲν τὸ  
 περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεσημῆριος μείζων  
 ἔσται τῆς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχῆς, τῆς ἀπὸ Βαψακίου εἰς  
 Πηλουσίαν. ποτε δὲ καὶ τὰ συνάπτεται τοῦτο,  
 ὅτι μὴ συγχωρομένου λευκαίου κατασκευάζο-  
 μενος. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι διότι τὸ ἀπὸ Παλμυραν ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ διὰ Κασπίαν πύλου μεσημῆριος εἶναι λευ-  
 στήριον τετρακισχίλιον οὐκ ἀπολείπειν. ἐληλυθῆται

<sup>1</sup> In the legend on p. 17<sup>v</sup> draw a parallel of isotope through  
 B Thaprasia and a meridian through A Palmyra and let  
 them intersect at a point. I then find a line which is  
 because given that AB is of 100 stadia that is, 10000  
 stadia and that the line is 100 stadia long.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek text here and corresponds to the same

## GEOGRAPHY, 1130

circle Montiputamas and Bahr-el-Ata, and that the Equator does the greater part of the carrying to that, after leaving from the north towards the south it turns towards the east and then sweeps southwards. Now its southward course from the north is approximately on some meridian but its bend to the east and to Bahr-el-Ata is not only a deviation from the meridian but it is also not on a straight line owing to the land carrying. It is true that H. L. Jones has stated the route to Bahr-el-Ata from Facciana to be four thousand eight hundred statute miles, though he says it is an approximation following the course of the Equator, so much that no one might interpret it as stating it to be as a measure of the distance between two points. If the construction of H. L. Jones be not granted Facciana is the point of projection which has only the appearance of being correct, namely that if a rectangle of triangle be constructed with vertices at Facciana, Thapsus, and the point of intersection of the parallels of Thapsus with the meridian of Facciana then one of the angles of the right angled triangle that on the meridian is greater than the distance that is the line from Thapsus to Facciana. Facciana also is the proposition that he has with this proposition because it is found and from something that is not recommended for survey. H. L. Jones has not granted the assumption that the distance from Bahr-el-Ata to the meridian that runs through the Caspian Gates is a matter of four thousand eight hundred statute miles. I

which is the formal diagram of a proposition, now that the distance which is the distance from Bahr-el-Ata to the date for the purpose of finding out what is right."



γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν μὴ συγχωρουμένων ὑπ' Ἑρατοσθένους κατεσκευακότα τοῦτο τὸν Ἱππαρχον ἵνα ὁ ἀνίσχυρον ᾖ τὸ ὑπὸ ἐκείνου διδόμενον, λαβὼν τὸ εἶναι πλείους ἢ ἑννακισχιλίους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ Κασπίων πυλῶν οὕτως ἀγομένην γραμμὴν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος εἶρηκεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς δρους τῆς Καρμανίας, ἐδείκνυε τὸ αὐτό.

37. Οὐ τοῦτο οὖν λεκτέον πρὸς τὸν Ἑρατοσθένη, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν ἐν πλείτει λεγομένων καὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ σχημάτων εἶναί τι θεῖ μέτρον, καὶ ὅπου μὲν μᾶλλον, ὅπου δὲ ἔλαττον συγχωρητέον. ληφθέντος γὰρ τοῦ τῶν ὁρῶν πλείους τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἰσημερινὰς ἀνατολὰς ἐκτεινομένων τρισχιλίων σταδίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ τῆς θαλάττης τῆς μέχρι Στήλων, μᾶλλον ἂν τις συγχωρήσειεν ὡς ἐπὶ μιᾷ γραμμῇ ἐξετάζεσθαι τὰς παραλλήλους ἐκείνης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πλάτει ἀγομένας ἢ τὰς συμπιπτούσας, καὶ τῶν συμπιπτούσων τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ πλάτει τὴν σύμπτωσιν ἔχούσας ἢ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> Strabo refers to the false conclusion in § 34.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo had in the main accepted Eratosthenes' map together with his treatise thereon, inadequate though they were. He objected to Hipparchus' criticism based upon false assumptions and geometrical tests applied to specific cases. He argues in this paragraph that the map requires a "metron" or standard of measure, by means of which as a sort of sliding scale, we may make proportional concessions or allowances in the matter of linear directions and geometrical magnitudes. Practically applied, this "metron" would



ἀπὸς ἀσπίδος καὶ τὰς διασταμένους μέχρι τοῦ  
 μὴ ἐμβαίνειν τοῦ πλάτους ἢ τὰς ἐμβαίνουσας, καὶ  
 τὰς ἐν μίᾳ μίαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἐν ἑλαττοῖσι.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀσιστότης τῶν μίαιων συγκαταστρεῖται ἢ  
 90 μᾶλλον καὶ ἡ ἀνομοιότης τῶν σχημάτων ὅσον ἐν  
 τῇ πλάτει τοῦ Ταύρου παντὸς καὶ τῇ μέχρι  
 Στῆλῶν θαλάττης, ὑποκειμένων τρισχιλίων στα-  
 δίων, νοεῖται ἐν τι παραλληλογράμμον χωρίον, τὸ  
 περιγραφὸν τὸ τε ὄρος ἄπαν καὶ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν  
 θαλάτταν. ὅταν οὖν διέλῃς εἰς πλεῖον παραλληλο-  
 γράμμα τὸ μήκος, καὶ τὴν διαμέτρον ὅλου τε  
 τούτου λάβῃς καὶ τῶν μερίων, ῥαον ἢ τὸ τοῦ ὅλου  
 διαμέτρος ἢ αὐτὴ λογισθεῖη,<sup>1</sup> παραλλήλως τε καὶ  
 ἴση, τῇ κατὰ τὸ μήκος πλευρῇ ἥπερ ἢ ἐν τοῖς  
 μέρεισι καὶ ὅψιν γ' ἢ ἐν ἑλαττοῖσι ἢ τε παραλληλό-  
 γραμμον τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν μέρει, τοσούτοις μᾶλλον τουτ'  
 ἢ συμφαινοῖται. ἢ τε γὰρ λοξότης τῆς διαμέτρον  
 ἦντος ἀτελέγχεται καὶ ἡ ἀσιστότης τοῦ μήκους ἐν  
 τοῖς μεγάλαις, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἢ ἐκνεύσεται ἐπ' αὐτῶν  
 τὴν διάμετρον εἰπεῖν μήκος τοῦ σχήματος. ὅταν  
 οὖν τὴν διάμετρον λοξώσῃς μᾶλλον, ὥστε ἐκ-

<sup>1</sup> Müller and Tardieu rightly regard Meisner's deletion of  
 παράλληλως τε καὶ ἴση ἀπὸς λογισθεῖς as unwarranted.

Let  $ABCD$  be assumed strip, let  $OO'$  be assumed east and  
 west line, let  $FF'$  and  $SS'$  be perpendicular to  $OO'$ , let  $BK$  and  
 $K'C$  or  $BK'$  and  $K'C$  be lines that intersect within and  
 $BK''$  and  $K'C$  upon that intersect a line. It is easier to  
 consider  $FF'$  as coincident with  $OO'$  than  $BK + K'C$  as  $O$  to  
 $PK + KP$  be coincident with  $OO'$ , and easier  $BK + K'C$   
 than  $BK' + K'C$ .

Likewise, also, one would more readily agree to regard as long on a single line those lines that extend within the limits of good breadth and do not reach beyond than those that reach beyond and those lines that extend with a greater length than those in course. For in such cases the inequality of the lengths and the dimensions of the figures would be more likely to escape notice. For instance, in the case of the breadth of the entire Isthmus Range and of the Sea up to the Pillars if three thousand stades be taken as hypothesis for the breadth we can construct our single para-gram which traces the boundary both of the entire Range and of the Sea. Now if you divide a para-gram lengthwise into several other para-grams, and take the diagrams both of this whole and of its parts then the diagonal of the whole might more easily be counted the same as that of each part and equal to the long side than could the diagonal of any one of the small para-grams as compared with the corresponding long side, and the smaller the para-gram taken as a part, the more would this be true. For both the equality of the diagonal and the inequality of its length as compared with the long side are less easily detected in large para-grams, so that you might not even hesitate in these cases to call the diagonal the length of the figure. If however you make the diagonal more oblique, so that it is exterior to both of the sides,



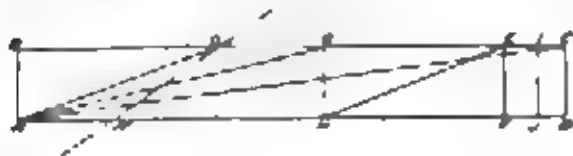
πασαὶν ἔξω τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρας ἢ τῆς γε  
 ἑτέρας, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἴτι ταῦτα συμβαίνειν  
 τοιοῦτον δὴ τι λεγῶ τὸ μετρον τῶν ἐν πλάτει  
 λεγομένων. ἃ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν τὴν  
 μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ὁρῶν λαμβάνων, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ  
 ταύτου παραλλήλου μέχρι Στηλῶν ἀγομένην, τὴν  
 δ' ἀπονεινουςαν εἰς Θαψάκον εὐθὺς ἔξω πολὺ τῶν  
 ὁρῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ Θαψάκου προσεκβάλλων  
 ἄλλην μέχρι Αἰγύπτου τοσοῦτον ἐπιλαμβά-  
 ρουσιν πλάτος, εἴτα τῇ μήκει τῇ ταύτης κατα-  
 μετρῶν τὸ τοῦ χωρίου μῆκος, διαμέτρῳ τετραγώ-  
 νου καταμετρεῖν ἂν δοῦσε τὸ τοῦ τετραγώνου  
 μῆκος. ὅταν δὲ μηδὲ διάμετρος ᾖ, ἀλλὰ κεκλα-  
 σμένη ἢ γραμμὴ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂν δόξειε πλημ-  
 μελεῖν κεκλασμένη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ Κασπίων  
 πυλῶν διὰ Θαψάκου πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον ἀγομένη.  
 πρὸς μὲν Ἑρατοσθένη ταῦτα.

38. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰππαρχον κάκεινο, ὅτι ἐχρῆν,  
 ὡς κατηγορίαν πεποιήται τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου λε-  
 χθέντων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν τινα ποιήσασθαι  
 τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὅπερ ἡμῖς ποιοῦμεν. ἐκεῖνος  
 δ' εἰ καὶ πού τοῦτου πεφροντικῆς, κελεύει ἡμᾶς  
 τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πίναξι προσεχειν, δεομένοις παμ-  
 πόλλῃ τινὶ μείζονος ἐπανορθώσεως, ἢ ὁ Ἑρα-

<sup>1</sup> *A O* represents a line which falls exterior to *BO* and *AE*,  
 and *AO* a line which falls exterior to *BO*. Let *ABCD* be  
 the large parallelogram, then the small parallelograms are  
*ABUH*, *HUOD*, *FECD*, *JICD*—and so on indefinitely.

or at least to one of them, this would no longer, in like manner be the case! This is substantially what I mean by a standard of measurement for roughly-sketched magnitudes. But when Eratosthenes, beginning at the Caspian Gates, takes not only the line which runs through the mountains themselves, but also the line which at once diverges considerably from the mountains into Thapsacus, as though both were drawn to the Pole on the same parallel, and when, again, he still further produces his line, on from Thapsacus to Egypt, thus taking in all this additional breadth, and then measures the length of his figure by the length of this line, he would seem to be measuring the length of his rectangle by a diagonal of a rectangle. And whenever his line is not even a diagonal but a broken line, much more he would seem to err. In fact, it is a broken line that is drawn from the Caspian Gates through Thapsacus to the Nile. So much may be said against Eratosthenes.

§8. But against Hipparchus this too may be urged, that, as he criticised the statements of Eratosthenes, so also he should have made some sort of correction of Eratosthenes' errors. The thing that I am doing. But Hipparchus—if he has really ever taken thought of this matter—bids us to give heed to the old maps, although they need much more correction than the



τασθένουσι πάλιν προσδεῖται. καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον  
 δ' ἐπιχειρημα τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχει· αἱ μοχθηρίαι λαμ-  
 βάνει γὰρ ἐν λημματι τὸ εἰς τῶν μὴ διδομένων  
 κατασκευασθῆναι, ὥς ἡλάνθασμεν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι Θαψακον  
 Βαβυλων ἀνατολικωτέρα ἔστιν οὐ πλείους ἢ  
 χιλίαις σταδίοις· ὥστ' αἱ καὶ παρὺν συναγεται τὸ  
 πλείους ἢ δις χίλιαι καὶ τετρακοσιοὶ σταδίοις  
 ἀνατολικωτέραν αὐτῇ εἶναι ἢ τῶν λογομένων  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους, ὅτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Τυγριδοῦ  
 διαβάσειν. § Ἀλεξάνδρου διωβη. ὑπὸ Θαψακον  
 ἔστι συντομοὶ σταδίων δις χίλιαι τετρακοσίαι.  
 C 91 ὁ δὲ Τυγρὶς καὶ ἡ Ευφράτης ἐγκυκλωσάμενοι τὴν  
 Μοσοποταμίαν, τότε μὲν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς φέρονται,  
 αὐτ' ἐπιστρέφουσι πρὸς νότον καὶ πλησιάζουσιν  
 τότε ἀλλήλαις τε ἄμα καὶ Βαβυλωνί, οὐδὲν ἄτερον  
 συμβαίνει τῇ λόγῳ.

39. Πλημμελεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς ἐπιχειρήματι  
 ἐν ᾧ συναγεῖα βούλεται, ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ Θαψακον  
 ἐπὶ Κασπίου πύλας οἶον, ἢν μυρίων σταδίων  
 Ἑρατοσθένους εἴρηκεν, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀναμετρη-  
 μένη ὥς ἐπ' εὐθείας παραλίδωσι, τῆς εὐθείας  
 πολὺ ἐλάττωται εὐθείᾳ. ἢ δ' ἐφόδοι ἔστιν αὐτῇ  
 ταυτῇ. φησὶν εἶναι καὶ κατ' Ἑρατοσθένη τὸν  
 αὐτὸν μεσημβριον τὸν τε διὰ τοῦ Καρυβικοῦ  
 στοματοῦ καὶ τὸν διὰ Κυανίων, διόχῳ δὲ τοῦτον  
 τοῦ διὰ Θαψακον ἑξακισχιλίους τετρακοσίους

<sup>1</sup> *Εἰρηνομένην ταύτην καὶ ἀποστέλλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Στράβου*  
*κατὰ Front. he has attributed to Eratosthenes a result*  
*(1,000 stadia, not based upon Eratosthenes' statement,*

map of Ptolemy still needs. And his subsequent effort suffers from the same flaw. For, as I have shown by text he takes as an admitted assumption what he has fabricated from data not granted by Eratosthenes namely that Babylon is not more than one thousand stadia farther east than Thapsacus, hence if even a perfect inference is drawn by Hipparchus to the effect that Babylon is not more than ten thousand four hundred stadia farther east than Thapsacus from Ptolemy's statement that there is a short route of two thousand four hundred stadia from Thapsacus to the <sup>1</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>2</sup> ~~the~~ where Alexander crossed yet if Eratosthenes also states that the Tigris and the Euphrates, after converging Mesopotamia for a time flow east then turn toward the south and hence draw near to each other and to Babylon he has proved no absurdity in Eratosthenes statement.<sup>1</sup>

39 Hipparchus is also wrong in his next effort, in which he wishes to draw the inference that Ptolemy gives the long way from Thapsacus to the Persian Gulf a higher length of which Eratosthenes has estimated at ten thousand stadia as measured in a straight line although it was not so measured the straight line being much shorter. The attack he makes against Eratosthenes is to this effect. According to Eratosthenes himself the meridian through the Persian mouth of the Nile and that through the Persian Gulf are one and the same and this meridian is six thousand three hundred stadia distant from the meridian through secondly he has drawn a false inference from an estimate that Thapsacus is 4 miles <sup>2</sup> ~~at a distance~~ so Eratosthenes described as <sup>3</sup> ~~of the~~ <sup>4</sup> ~~of the~~ Tigris and Euphrates shows

<sup>1</sup> The Symplocium.



σταδίους, τὰς δὲ Κυανίας τοῦ Κασπίου ὄρους  
 ἑξακισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους, ὃ κεῖται κατὰ τὴν  
 ὑπέρθεσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσπιον πέλαγος ἐκ  
 Κολχίδος, ὥστε παρὰ τριακοσίους σταδίους τὸ  
 ἴσον εἶναι διάστημα ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ Κυανέων με-  
 σημβρινοῦ ἐπὶ τε Θάψακον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσπιον  
 τροποι δὴ τινα ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κεῖσθαι  
 τὴν τε Θάψακον καὶ τὸ Κάσπιον. τούτῳ δ'  
 ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ ἀφεστάναι ἴσον τὰς Κασπίους  
 πύλας Θάψακον τε καὶ τοῦ Κασπίου τοῦ δὲ  
 Κασπίου<sup>1</sup> πολὺ ἐλάττους ἀφεστάναι τῶν μυρίων,  
 δούρου φησὶν ἀφεστάναι Ἑρατοσθένους τῆς Θαψά-  
 κου· τῆς Θαψάκου<sup>2</sup> ἄρα πολὺ ἐλάττους ἢ μυρίου  
 ἀφεστάναι ταυς ἐπ' εὐθείας· κυκλοπορίαν ἄρα  
 εἶναι τοὺς μυρίους, οὓς<sup>3</sup> λογίζεται ἐκεῖνος ἐπ'  
 εὐθείας ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν εἰς Θάψακον. ἐροῦ-  
 μεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους ἐν  
 πλάτει λαμβάνοντος τὰς εὐθείας, ὅπερ οἰκιστὴν  
 ἐστὶ γεωγραφίας, ἐν πλάτει δὲ καὶ τὰς μεσημ-  
 βρινὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ἰσημερινὴν ἀνατολήν, ἐκεῖνος  
 γεωμετρικῶς αὐτὸν εὐθύνει, καὶ ὥς ἂν δι' ὀργάνων  
 λάβοι τις τούτων ἕκαστον· οὐδὲ αὐτὸς δι' ὀργάνων,

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ δὲ Κασπίου, Spangeli inserta, before τέλος, Meineke, Forbiger, fol. owing, C. Müller, H. Berger, approving.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς Θαψάκου, Spangeli inserta, before ἄρα, Meineke, Forbiger, following C. Müller, H. Berger approving.

<sup>3</sup> οὓς, Siebenkams inserta, from Tyrwhitt's conjecture; Forbiger, Meineke, following.



ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον στοχασμῷ λαμβάνων καὶ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθὰς καὶ τὸ παραλλήλουν. ἐν μὲν βῆ τοιοῦθ' ἀμάρτημα· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μὴδε τὰ κείμενα παρ' ἐκείνῃ διαστήματι τίθεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μὴδε πρὸς ἐκείνη τον ἐλαγχον προσέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλαττόμενα. διόπερ πρῶτος μὲν ἐκείνων τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἐπὶ Φάσιν εἰκοντο σταδίων ὀκτακισχιλίων, καὶ προσθεῖντες τοὺς εἰς Διοσκουριάδην ἐνθενδε ἑξακοσίους, τὴν δ' ἀπὸ Διοσκουριάδος εἰς τὸ Κάσπιον ὑπέμβειν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἦτις κατ' αὐτὸν Ἰππαρχος εἰκαζεται λέγεσθαι ἑσὸν χιλίων σταδίων, ὥστε τὴν συμ-  
 Ο 92 πασαν κατ' Ἑρατοσθένη κεφαλαιεῦσθαι ἑνακισχιλίων<sup>1</sup> ἑξακοσίων, αὐτὸς συντέτμηκε καὶ φησιν ἐκ μὲν Κυανέων εἰς Φάσιν πεντακισχιλίων ἑξακοσίους, εἰς δὲ Κάσπιον ἐνθενδε ἄλλους χιλίους, ὥστ' οὐ κατ' Ἑρατοσθένη συμβαίνει ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πῶς μεσημβρινοῦ τέ τε Κασπιος εἶναι καὶ τὴν Θαψάκον, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτόν. φερε δ' οὖν κατ' Ἑρατοσθένη πῶς οὖν τούτῃ ἔπεται τὸ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασπίου ἐπὶ Κασπίου πύλας ἴσθμῳ εἶναι τῇ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σημεῖον,

40. Ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρῃ ὑπομνήματι ἀναλαβὼν πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ζήτησιν τῆς περὶ τῶν ἄρων τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ταῦρον, περὶ ᾧ ἱκανῶς εἴρηκαμεν, μεταβαίνει πρὸς τὰ βορεια μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης·

<sup>1</sup> ἑνακισχιλίων, Πλάττει, ἑκ ἑνακισχιλίων.

takes the relations of both "perpendicular" and "parallel." The then, is one of Hipparchus' mistakes. Another mistake is this, that he does not even put down the distances that are found in *Geographica* or apply his test to them but to those that are found by himself. So, for instance, though *Geographica* first estimated the distance from the outlet in Phasis<sup>1</sup> at eight thousand stadia and added to this the six hundred stadia thence to Dioscuras, and then estimated at a five days journey the path that leads over to Mt. Casius which according to Hipparchus himself, is conjectured to be about one thousand stadia, so that the total distance according to *Geographica*, amounts to nine thousand six hundred stadia. Hipparchus has made a blunder at his result and says that from the Casian Hills to Phasis the distance is five thousand six hundred stadia and thence to Mt. Casius another thousand stadia. Therefore the statement that Mt. Casius and Thapsus are virtually situated on the same meridian could not be used on the authority of *Geographica*, but on that of Hipparchus himself. Well, suppose it were on the authority of *Geographica*. It is just as if I found therefrom that the line from Mt. Casius to the Casian Coast is equal in length to the line from Thapsus to the same point.<sup>2</sup>

4. In his *Second Book* Hipparchus again takes up the same question of *Geographica*'s decision of the inhabited world along the line of the Taurus Range, about which I have already said enough, then he passes to a discussion of the Northern

<sup>1</sup> Of the Euxine.

<sup>2</sup> A town at the mouth of the Phasis River.

αὐτ' ἐκτίθεται τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους  
περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν Πόντον τοπων, ὅτι φησὶ τρεῖς  
ἄκρα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων καθήκειν· μίαν μὲν, ἐφ'  
ἣς ἡ Πελοπόννησος, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν Ἰταλικήν,  
τρίτην δὲ τὴν Λιγυστικήν, ὑφ' ὧν κολπους ἀπο  
λαμβάνεσθαι τὸν τε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ τὸν Τυρρη  
νικόν. ταῦτα δ' ἐκθέμενος καθόλου πειράται τὰ  
καθ' ἕκαστα περὶ αὐτῶν λεγόμενα ἐλιγχεῖς  
γεωμετρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ γεωγραφικῶς. ἔστι δὲ  
τοσοῦτον τῶν ἀμαρτανόμενων ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Ἑρατοσθένους τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὑπὸ Τιμοσθένους  
τοῦ τοὺς λιμένας συγγράψαντος (ὃν ἐπαινεῖ μὲν  
ἐκεῖνος μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων, διαφωνῶν δ' ἐλέγ  
χεται πρὸς αὐτὸν πλεῖστα), ὥστ' οὐκ ἄξιον  
ἡγοῦμαι διαμαρτάνειν οὐτ' ἐκείνους, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον  
διαμαρτάνοντας τῶν ὄντων, οὔτε τὸν Ἰππαρχον.  
καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τὰ μὲν παραλείπει τῶν ἡμαρτημέ  
νων, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπανορθοῖ, ἀλλ' ἐλέγχει μόνον, ὅτι  
ψευδῶς ἢ μαχομένως εἴρηται. αἰτιάζονται μὲν γὰρ  
καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν ἴσως τις, ὅτι φησὶν ἄκρας τρεῖς τῆς  
Εὐρώπης, μίαν μὲν τιθεὶς τὴν ἐφ' ἣς ἡ Πελοπον  
νησος· ἔχει γὰρ τι πολυσχιδὲς. καὶ γὰρ το  
Σουσιον ἀκρωτηριάζει ὁμοίως τῇ Λακωνικῇ, οὐ  
πολὺ ἥττον μεσημβρινὸν<sup>1</sup> ὢν τῶν Μαλειῶν, καὶ  
κόλπον ἀπολαμβάνον ἀξιόλογον. καὶ ἡ Θρακία  
Χερρόνησος ἀπολαμβάνει πρὸς τὸ Σούνιον τόν

<sup>1</sup> μεσημβρινόν, Μεδνίς, ἵς μεσημβρινότερον.





also all the Macedonian Gauls that come after Mela. However if we do not pass over this objection, the most of the distances, which are advanced, will prove that Eratosthenes ignorance of those regions is surprising, and that his conjectures required no geometrical proofs, but was ~~very~~ founded on as obvious and as to be attested facts, the instance, that the pass from Pindarus that leads over to the Thracian Gulf is more than two thousand stadia, though Eratosthenes says it is nine hundred and that the distance from Aescaria to Carthage is more than sixteen thousand stadia, though it is not more than nine thousand—If Asia and Europe be as Eratosthenes says, an immense distance as Alexander and we have said of Asia, we have mentioned as Carthage. It is not to agree that the voyage from Carthage to the West of Asia is not more than nine thousand stadia, and though when there is some considerable distance between two places, the error taken for the more easily, must ought to be granted to be the same as the mistake which is on the other west therefore than Carthage to west of the Strait of Sicily, yet when we are concerned with a matter of two thousand stadia the error is self-evident. And when Eratosthenes makes place Rome—which is so much farther west of the Strait of Sicily than even Carthage is, on the same measure with Carthage, his ignorance both of those regions and of the successive regions toward the west as far as the Persians can reach an higher extreme.

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\* necessary time brought by ourselves; all others or witnesses bearing or approving.



41. Ἰππάρχῃ μὲν οὖν μὴ γεωγραφοῦντι, ἀλλ' ἐξετάζοντι τὰ λεχθέντα ἐν τῇ γεωγραφίᾳ τῇ Ἐρατοσθένους, οἰκίον ἦν ἐπὶ πλεόν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα εὐθυμειν· ἡμεῖς δ', ἐν οἷς μὲν κατορθοῖ, τὸ πλεόν δ' ἔτι ὅπου καὶ πλημμελεῖ, τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστα οἰκίον λογον ῥήθημεν δεῖν προσάγειν, τὰ μὲν ἐπανορθοῦντες, ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' ἀπολυόμενα τὰ ἐπιφερομένας αἰτίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰππάρχου, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰππάρχον συνεξετάζομεν, ὅπου τι φιλαίτιως εἴρηκεν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ορώντες ἤδη τὸν μὲν τελείως παραπαίοντα, τὸν δὲ δικαίως ἐπικαλοῦντα, ἀρκεῖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ἂν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γεωγραφίᾳ τὰ ὄντα λέγοντες ἐπανορθώμεν αὐτόν. ἐφ' ὧν γὰρ συνεχτῇ καὶ ἐπιπολαζοντά ἐσσι τὰ ἀμαρτανόμενα, κρεῖττον μὴδὲ μαμνήσθαι, πλὴν εἰ σπάνιον τι καὶ καθολόν· ὅπου πειρασόμεθα ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα. καὶ νῦν δ' εἰρήσθω, ὅτι καὶ Τιμοσθένης καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ οἱ ἑτεροὶ τούτων προτεροὶ τελείως ἠγνοοῦν τὰ τε Ἰβηρικὰ καὶ τὰ Κελτικά, μᾶλλον δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ τὰ Βρεττανικὰ, ὥς δ' αὖτως τὰ τῶν Γαλάτων καὶ Βασταρνώων. ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἀγνοίας ἐτύγχανον ἀφυγμένοι καὶ τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς προσαρτιῶν μερῶν εἰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἴσως φιλαίτια. τοῦ γὰρ Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπὶ τῶν πόρων διαστηκόντων τὰ παραδεδομένα φασκόντος ἔρειν διαστήματα, μὴ δυσχυριζόμενον δέ, καὶ λεγόντος ὡς παρέλαβε,



προστιθέντες δ' ἔστιν ὅπου τὰ ἐπ' εὐθείας μᾶλλον  
 καὶ ἦττον, οὐ δεῖ προσάγειν τὸν ἀκριβῆ ὁλογχον  
 C 94 τοῖς μὴ ὁμολογουμένοις πρὸς ἀλλήλα διαστή-  
 μασι, ὥπερ ποιεῖν πειράται ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἐν τα-  
 τοῖς πρότερον λεχθεῖσι καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τὴν  
 Ἑρκανίαν μέχρι Βακτρίας καὶ τῶν ἐπείκεινα  
 ἔθνων ἐκτίθεται διαστήματα, καὶ ἔτι τὰ ἀπὸ  
 Κολχίδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρκανίαν θάλατταν. οὐ γὰρ  
 ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοῖς τούτων ἑξεταστέον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὑπερώτιν παραλίαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους τοὺς οὕτω γνωρίμους τόπους· ἀλλ' οὐδ'  
 ἐπὶ τούτων γεωμετρικῶς, ὥπερ ἔφη, ἀλλὰ γεω-  
 γραφικῶς μᾶλλον. αἰτιασάμενος δ' οὖν τινα τῶν  
 Αἰθιοπικῶν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ δευτέρου ὑπομνήματος  
 τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἑρατοσθένους γεωγραφίαν πεποιη-  
 μένων, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φησὶ τὴν μὲν πλείω θεωρίαν  
 ἔσσεσθαι μαθηματικὴν, ἐπὶ ποσὸν δὲ καὶ γεω-  
 γραφικὴν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν μέντοι δοκεῖ μοι ποιή-  
 σασθαι γεωγραφικὴν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μαθηματικὴν,  
 διδόντος καὶ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους τὴν τοιαύτην  
 πρόφασιν. πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐκπίπτει πρὸς τὸ  
 ἐπιστημονικώτερον τῆς προκειμένης ἱστορίας, ἐκ-  
 πεισὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁλοσχερεῖς ποιεῖται  
 τὰς ἀποφάσεις, τρόπον τινα ἐν μὲν τοῖς γεω-  
 γραφικοῖς μαθηματικός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς  
 γεωγραφικός ὢν, ὥστε πρὸς ἀμφω διδῶσιν ἀφορ-

<sup>1</sup> παραλίαν, *Urochordā*, *for* *τάλη*; *Meusebe* following.

them by tradition, though at times he adds the words "in a straight line or straight" it is not fair to apply the rigorous test<sup>1</sup> to these distances which do not agree with each other. That is precisely what Heron intended to do, not only in the cases mentioned above but also where he sets forth the distances round about Ilyria up to Illyria and to the tribes on beyond and, besides, the distances from Illyria to the Hircanian Sea. Indeed, in the case of the geographers of the remote countries, we should not criticize him in the same way as we do in that of the continents, our home and of the other regions that are so well known, nor not even in case of the nearer regions ought we to apply the geometrical test as I was saying, but rather the geographical. Now toward the end of his second Book which he has written in refutation of the Geography of Eratosthenes Heron makes fault with some of the statements of Eratosthenes about Egypt and especially in his II. I think the greater part of his speculations were mathematical, but to some extent geographical also. It seems to me, however, that he did not make his theory geographical even to some extent, but was a mathematician, although Eratosthenes himself gives Heron as a good reason for so doing. For frequently Eratosthenes digresses into digressions too, and for the subject he is dealing with but after he digresses, the digressions he makes are not rigorously accurate, not in practice, so to speak, he is a mathematician among geographers and yet a geographer among mathematicians and consequently on both sides he offers his opponents occasions for

<sup>1</sup> That is, of geometry.

μὰς τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ὑπομνήματι καὶ δικαίας καὶ οὐτος καὶ ὁ Τιμισθένης, ἔστ' οὐδ' ἡμῖν καταλείπεται συνεπισκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰππάρχου λεχθεῖσιν.

II

1 Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιον, ἃ φησιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁκεανοῦ δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ γεωγραφεῖν, τὰ μὲν οἰκείως, τὰ δὲ μαθηματικώτερον. οὐκ ἄτοκον οὖν ἓνια καὶ τῶν ὑπο τουτου λεγομένων διαιτῆσαι, τὰ μὲν νῦν, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα, ὥς ἂν ὑποκίπτῃ, μέτρον τινας ἐχομένους. ἔστιν οὖν τι τῶν πρὸς γεωγραφίαν οἰκείων τὸ τὴν γῆν δλην ὑποθέσθαι σφαιροειδῇ, καθυπερ καὶ τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παραδεξασθαι τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ ὑποθέσει ταύτῃ· τούτων δ' ἔστι καὶ τὸ πεντάζωνον αὐτὴν εἶναι.

2. Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τὴν εἰς πάντε ζῶνας διαιρισεως ὑρχηγὸν γενέσθαι Παρμενίδην· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν σχεδὸν τι διπλασίαν ὑποφαίνειν τὸ πλάτος τὴν διακεκαυμένην,<sup>1</sup> ὑπερπίπτουσιν

<sup>1</sup> The words *τῇ μεταβὺ τῶν τριεῖων ἄλλος διακεκαυμένη* are omitted by Kramer and succeeding editors.

<sup>1</sup> That is, some such standard as Strabo himself has defined in 2. 1. 37.      <sup>2</sup> See footnote 2 on p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> But, accord ng to Plutarch, Thales and Pythagoras had divided the heavens into five zones, and Pythagoras had divided the earth into five corresponding zones (*De Placitis Philosophorum* 2. 12 and 3. 14).

<sup>4</sup> That is, double the breadth assigned to the torrid zone by Ptolemaeus and Strabo—namely, 2 x 17,000 stadia

contradiction; and the occasions which both he and Timosthenes offer Hipparchus in this Third Book are so just that it remains for me not even to join my observations to those of Hipparchus, but merely to content myself with what Hipparchus has said about them.

## II

1. Now let us see what Poseidonius has to say in his treatise on *Oceanus*. For in it he seems to deal mainly with geography, treating it partly from the point of view of geography properly so called, and partly from a more mathematical point of view. And so it will not be out of place for me to pass judgment upon a few of Poseidonius' statements, some of them now, and others in my discussion of the individual countries, as occasion offers, always observing a kind of standard.<sup>1</sup> Now it is one of the things proper to geography to take as an hypothesis that the earth as a whole is sphere-shaped,<sup>2</sup> just as we do in the case of the universe—and accept all the conclusions that follow this hypothesis, one of which is that the earth has five zones.

2. Poseidonius, then, says that Parmenides was the originator of the division into five zones,<sup>3</sup> but that Parmenides represents the torrid zone as almost double its real breadth,<sup>4</sup> inasmuch as it falls beyond

-36 300' and thus the torrid zone would reach to 25° & 34½° (counting 700 stadia to the degree). Thus the difference between Aristotle and Parmenides is not great, if we assume that the former places the tropics at about 24°. The reading of the manuscripts we are using on opposite page makes Parmenides say that the torrid zone is 1/2 in the zone between the tropics, but it is inconceivable that he did so.

διατρίψας τῶν τροπικῶν εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ πρὸς ταῖς  
 εὐκράτους· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ αὐτὴν καλεῖν τὴν  
 μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν, τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπι-  
 κῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν εὐερευτοῦς, ἀμφοτεροῖς  
 ὅς ἐστιν ἐκείνη διακεκαυμένη γὰρ λεγέσθαι  
 τὸ ἀεικνητὸν διὰ καῦμα τῆς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τρο-  
 πικῶν πλάτος ἢ το ἡμισυ τοῦ πλάτους οὐκ<sup>2</sup>  
 εἰρησ· μόνον ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγυπτίου στοχα-  
 ζομένοις Αἰθιοπικῶν, εἴπερ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ παντός  
 πλάτους ἐστίν, ὃ διαιρεῖ ἐφ' ἑαυτὰ ὁ ἰσημερινός  
 ταύτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Συνηκ, ἥπερ ἐστὶν  
 ὄριον τοῦ θερινοῦ τροπικοῦ, εἰς Μαυρίαν εἰσι  
 πεντακισχίλιοι τὸ δ' ἐνθενὶς ὥς τοῦ τῆς Κιννα-  
 μαμοφοροῦ παραλλήλου, ὥπερ ἐστὶν προχὴ τῆς  
 διακεκαυμένης, τρισχίλιοι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν το  
 διωστήμα πᾶν ἐστὶ μετρητὸν, πλεῖται τε γὰρ  
 καὶ οὐδυνται τὰ δ' ἑξῆς, μέχρι τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ,  
 λογῶν<sup>3</sup> διαιρῶνται κατὰ τὴν ὑπ' Ἑρατοσθέους  
 γενομένην μετρήσιν τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἐστὶ σταδίων  
 ἑξακισχίλιον ἑξακόσιον ἢ δὴ λόγον ἔχει  
 τὰ μυρία ἑξακισχίλια ἑξακόσια<sup>4</sup> πρὸς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν, Cosmabon inserts, all editors following.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ Kratzer inserts, before εἰρησ· Fortägar, C. Müller, Tardieu following.

<sup>3</sup> μετρήσιν, λογῶν following, Cosmabon, for ἰσημερινὸν λέγειν, following. Gunkel, Meineke, Tardieu, following. C. Müller, H. Berger, approving.

<sup>4</sup> ἑξακισχίλια ἑξακόσια, Kratzer, for τρισχίλια; Meineke, Fortägar, Tardieu, C. Müller following.

<sup>1</sup> *De Meteorologicis* I. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Plutarchus is on taking literally the Greek word *καυμένη*, "scorched."

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both the tropics and extends into the two temperate zones with a latitude only within the region between the tropics and temperate line regions between the tropics and the equator names. This phenomenon creates into systems and we justify for we think it is a mean way the region the is an also is covered of heat and of the zone between the tropics more than half is water. In fact if we may use a new circle from the 17° zone also the middle of Fig. 4 if it is true that that circle is one of the total zone made by the equator and we know from that circle and usually that of the part the reaches to Merid. 10° zone and it is a part on the lower side of a summer tropic is five thousand stades in breadth and the part from Merid to the parallel of the Chinese reaching twenty on a parallel the distance is 10° or 1000 stades in breadth. But the width of each is proportion be measured for they are traversed with by water and it is not the rest of the distance up to the equator as above is in a mean based upon the measurement that at some scale of the earth is one eighth thousand eight hundred stades. 4° is 10° or 1000 stades of the eastern thousand eight hundred stades to the eight thousand eight

It is the purpose of this report to provide a summary of the results of the study and to discuss the implications of the findings. The study was conducted in order to determine the effect of the treatment on the response of the subjects. The results of the study are presented in the following sections. The first section presents the results of the study in the form of a table.

4 The north and south temperature zones had the same

<sup>6</sup> The document set from the 1970s is larger and the system



ὀκτακισχίλια δετακόσια, τοῦτον ἂν ἔχοι τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν διάστημα πρὸς τὸ τῆς διακεκαυμένης πλάτος. καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων δὲ ἀναμετρήσεων εἰσάγεται ἡ ἐλαχίστην ποιούσα τὴν γῆν, οἷαν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐγκρίνει περὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα μυριάδας οὔσαν, περὶ ἡμισὺ πον ἀποφαίνει τὴν διακεκαυμένην τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν, ἡ μικρὰ τοῦ ἡμίσεος μείζονα Ἰσην δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖς τε ἀρκτικοῖς, οὔτε παρὰ πᾶσιν οὔσιν, οὔτε τοῖς αὐταῖς πανταχοῦ, τίς ἂν διορίζοι τὰς εὐκράτους, αἵπερ αἰσὶν ἀμετάκτωτοι, τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι τοὺς ἀρκτικούς, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὸν ἐλεγχον· δεῖ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς τὴν εὐκρατον οἰκοῦσιν εἶναι πᾶσι, πρὸς οὐσπερ καὶ λέγεται μόνον εὐκρατος· τὸ δὲ μὴ πανταχοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ μεταπίπτειν, καλῶς εἰληπται.

3. Αὐτὸς δὲ διαιρῶν εἰς τὰς ζώνας, πέντε μὲν φησὶν εἶναι χρησίμους πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια. τούτων δὲ περισκίονε δύο τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς πόλοις μέχρι τῶν ἐχόντων τοὺς τροπικοὺς ἀρκτικούς, ἑτεροσείους δὲ

<sup>1</sup> That is, 16,800 ± 800 33,600 17,000. The ratio is 21 11, and the breadth of the world some 17,600 stadia (compare §. 1. 13).

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks in general used the term "arctic circle" of a celestial circle, and not of a terrestrial circle as we do to-day. Our arctic circle is fixed, theirs varied according to the standpoint of the observer. Their arctic circle was drawn on the celestial sphere parallel to the equator and tangent to the observer's horizon and it therefore separated the circumpolar stars that are always above the horizon from the stars that rise and set with respect to his horizon. Since

hundred stadia, so would be the ratio of the distance between the two tropics to the breadth of the torrid zone.<sup>1</sup> And if of the more recent measurements of the earth the one which makes the earth's circumference be introduced, I mean that of Ptolemy, who estimates its circumference at about one hundred and eighty thousand stadia, this measurement I also renders the breadth of the torrid zone somewhere about half the space between the tropics, or slightly more than half, but in no way equal to or the same as that space. And again Ptolemy asks how we can determine the limits of the temperate zones, which are not variable by means of the "arctic circles," which are neither visible among all men nor the same everywhere. Now the fact that the "arctic circles" are not visible to all could be of no aid to his refutation of Aristotle, because the "arctic circles" must be visible to all who are in the temperate zone with reference to whom alone the term "temperate" is in fact used. But no point that the "arctic circles" are not everywhere visible in the same way, but are subject to variations, has been well taken.<sup>2</sup>

3 When Ptolemy himself divides the earth into the zones,<sup>3</sup> he says that five of them are useful with reference to the climatic phenomena of three five, two—those that lie beneath the poles and extend to the regions that have the tropics as arctic

the altitude of the celestial pole is always the same as the latitude of the observer. For if the observer is at the equator, the altitude of the celestial pole is zero, and again he would have no arctic circle if placed south of the equator. Now it is true that any one at the equator if one goes north of the equator Strabo insists that the boundaries of the temperate zones shall be fixed, not variable. "Barnes."

τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύταις δύο μέχρι τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς τροπικοῖς οἰκούντων, ἀμφίσκιον δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ταύτας τε καὶ δύο ἄλλας στενὰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς τροπικοῖς, καθ' ἃς ἡμισὺ πῶς μηνὸς κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος, διχα διαιρουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν τροπικῶν. ἔχειν γάρ τι ἴδιον τὰς ζώνας ταύτας, ἀνχμηράς τε ἰδίως καὶ ἀμμῶδεις ὑπαρχούσας καὶ ἀφορὰς πλὴν σιλφίου καὶ πυρωδῶν τινων καρπῶν συγκεκαυμένων. ὄρη γὰρ μὴ εἶναι πλησίον, ὥστε τὰ νέφη προσπίπτοντα δμβροὺς ποιεῖν, μηδὲ δὴ ποταμοὺς

C 96 διαρρεῖσθαι. διόπερ οὐλότριχας καὶ οὐλόκερας καὶ προχείλους καὶ πλατύρρινας γεννᾶσθαι τὰ γὰρ ἄκρα αὐτῶν συστρέφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἰχθυοφάγους δὲ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ζώνας οἰκεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτ' ἴδια τῶν ζωνῶν τούτων δηλοῦν φησι τὸ τοὺς νοτιωτέρους αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὸ περιέχαν εὐκρατότερον καὶ τὴν γῆν καρπιμωτέραν καὶ εὐδροτέραν.

## III

I. Παλὺβιος δὲ ποιεῖ ζώνας ἑξ' δύο μὲν τὰς τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς ὑποσιππούσας, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν, καὶ δύο τὰς μεταξὺ

<sup>1</sup> That is, the frigid zones, where the shadows describe an oval in the summer-time.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the temperate zones, where the shadows are

circles—are "periarctic"<sup>1</sup>; and the two that come next and extend to the people who live beneath the tropics are "heterosclerian"<sup>2</sup>, and the zone between the tropics, "ampliasclerian"<sup>3</sup>. But for purposes of human interest there are, in addition to these five zones, two other narrow ones that lie beneath the tropics and are divided into two parts by the tropics, these have the sun directly overhead for about half a month each year. These two zones, he says, have a certain peculiarity, in that they are parched in the literal sense of the word, are sandy, and produce nothing except siphium and some pungent fruits that are withered by the heat; for those regions have in their neighbourhood no mountains against which the clouds may break and produce rain, nor indeed are they coursed by rivers, and for this reason they produce creatures with woolly hair, crumpled horns, protruding lips, and flat noses (for their extremities are contorted by the heat), and the "fish-eaters" also live in these zones. Poseidonius says it is clear that these things are peculiar to those zones from the fact that the people who live farther south than they do have a more temperate atmosphere, and also a more fruitful, and a better-watered, country.

## III

1. Ptolemy makes six zones, two that fall beneath the arctic circles, two between the arctic circles and the tropics, and two between the tropics and the

thrown in opposite directions at noon, the shadow in the northern zone falling north and in the southern falling south.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the torrid zone, where the shadow for any point at noon is north part of the year and south part of the year.

τούτων καὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ. ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς πέντε διαίρεσεις δοκεῖ μοι καὶ φυσικῶς ἅμα καὶ γεωγραφικῶς εἰρησθαι. φυσικῶς μὲν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κρᾶσιν πρὸς μὲν τὰ οὐράνια, ὅτι τοῖς περισκίσις καὶ τοῖς ἑτεροσκίσις<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀμφισκίσις, οὕτως ἂν ἄριστα διοριζομένοις, συυδιορίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν θέαν τῶν ἄστρον, ὁλοσχερεῖ τινι μερισμῷ λαμβάνοντα τὴν ἐξάλλαξιν· πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κρᾶσιν, ὅτι τῆς τούτου κράσεως πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον κρινομένης διαφοραὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν αἱ γενικωτάται καὶ συντείνουσαι πρὸς τε τὰς τῶν ζώων καὶ φυτῶν συστάσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡμισυστάσεις<sup>2</sup> τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔκείνῳ, ὑπερβολῇ θάλπουσι καὶ ἔλλειψις καὶ μεσότης. αὕτη δὲ τῷ εἰς τὰς ζώνας μερισμῷ λαμβάνει τὴν οἰκίαν διάκρισιν· αἳ τε γὰρ κατεψυγμένοι δύο τὴν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ θάλπουσι ὑπαγορεύουσιν, εἰς μίαν τοῦ περιέχοντος φύσιν συναγόμεναι, αἳ τε εὐκρατοὶ παραπλησίως εἰς μίαν τὴν μεσότητα ἄγονται, εἰς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ἢ λοιπὴ μίᾳ καὶ διασκεκαυμένη ὅτι δὲ καὶ γεωγραφικὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μερισμός, δῆλον.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἑτεροσκίσις, Groenkd inserts, after περισκίσις; Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following, Gosselin, Kramer, O. Müller, approving, but not inserting.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμισυστάσεις, Madvig, for ἡμισυναστάσεις; A. Vogel, Stargardt, approving.

equator. However the division into five zones seems to me to be in harmony with physics as well as geography, with physics in relation both to the celestial phenomena and to the temperature of the atmosphere. In relation to the celestial phenomena because, by means of the "tropic" and the "heterocline" and the "amphicline" regions the best way to determine the sun's, the appearance of the constellations to our sight is at the same time determined for there is a kind of rough outline division of the sun's stars relative to the polar variations and in relation to the temperature of the atmosphere because the temperature of the atmosphere being judged with reference to the sun, is subject to three very broad different degrees, namely, excess of heat, lack of heat and moderate heat, which have a strong bearing on the organization of animals and plants and the organization of everything else which lives out its life on the earth. And the temperature of the atmosphere receives its proper determination by the division of the earth into five zones for the two tropical zones really the absence of heat, agreeing in the possession of one characteristic temperature and in the manner the two temperate zones agree in one temperature that of moderate heat while the one remaining is consistent in having the remaining characteristic in that it is one and fixed in temperature. And it is clear that this division is in harmony with geography.

<sup>1</sup> See I, II, III, and footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> I say "the temperature" has its usual natural source and responding to the terrestrial zones. The first would not be in accordance with the law of the world which is one and the same for astronomical observation.

<sup>3</sup> Seeds, for example.

ζητεῖ γὰρ ἡ γεωγραφία τῇ ἑτέρα<sup>1</sup> τῶν εὐκρατέων  
 ἀφορίσαι τὸ οἰκούμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν τμήμα πρὸς  
 δυσεὶς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀκατολῇ θάλαττά ἐστιν ἡ περὶ  
 τοῦσα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ νότια καὶ τὰ βορρεια ὁ ἀπὸ, ὁ  
 μὲν μέσας εὐκρατος ὡν καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ζώοις, ὁ  
 Ε' δὲ ἑκτέρῃ δυσκρατος ὑπερβολῇ καὶ ἐλλείψει  
 τοῦ θάλπου· εἰς δὲ τὰς τρεῖς διαφορὰς ταύτας  
 ἔδωκε τῆς εἰς πέντε ζώας διαιρέσεως· τῇ γὰρ  
 ἰσημερινῇ τμηθεῖσα διχα ἡ σφαῖρα τῆς γῆς εἴς τε  
 τὰ βορρειον ἡμισφαίριον, ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν, καὶ τὸ  
 νότιον, ὑπέγραψε τὰς τρεῖς διαφορὰς· τὰ μὲν  
 γὰρ πρὸς τῇ ἰσημερινῇ καὶ τῇ διακεκαυμένη ζωνῇ  
 διὰ καῦμα ἀσκητὰ ἐστί, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῇ πολλῇ διὰ  
 ψύχος, τὰ δὲ μέσα τὰ εὐκράτα καὶ τὰ οἰκησιμα.  
 ὁ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς τροπικοῖς προστιθεῖς οὐκ ἀνὰ  
 λόγον ταῖς πέντε ταύτας<sup>2</sup> προστιθῆσις, οὐδ' ὅμοια  
 C 97 πεχημένους<sup>3</sup> διαφορᾷ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν εἰ καὶ ταῖς  
 ἰθνηκαῖς διαφοραῖς ἀπέβαινε ζώας. ἄλλην μὲν  
 τὴν Αἰθιοπικὴν, ἄλλην δὲ τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ  
 Κελτικὴν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον

2. Ὁ δὲ Πολυβίος τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ εἶπεν, τὸ ποιεῖν  
 τινὰς ζώας τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς διοριζομένας, δύο μὲν  
 τὰς ὑποκιντούσας αὐτοῖς, δυοὶ δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ  
 τούτων καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν εἰρηται γὰρ ὅτι ταῖς  
 μεταπίπτουσι σημείοις οὐχ ὀριστέον τὰ ἀμα-  
 τὰπτωτα. οὐδὲ τοῖς τροπικοῖς δὲ τῇ διακεκαυ-

<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἑτέρῃ, Medvig, for τῇ ἑτέρῃ.

<sup>2</sup> ταῖς. Corais, for ταύτας, Misrahe following.

<sup>3</sup> πεχημένοι, Corais, for πεχημένους.

## GEOGRAPHY, 1990

[illegible]

I propose a definition of the word *boundary* which he defines some of the basic elements of the system. The first two that fall under the general category of *boundary* are the *boundary* and the *boundary* and the *boundary* (for as I have a right and a responsibility and be defined by you to that are the same. And as well as not defining the *boundary* as boundaries of the

<sup>1</sup> See page 500, and footnote 2.



μένης ὁροις χρηστέον· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' εἴρηται. τὴν διακεκαυμένην μέντοι δίχα διαιρῶν πρὸς οὐ φαύλην ἐπίνοιαν φαίνεται κεκινημένως, πρὸς ἣν καὶ ὅλην δίχα διαιροῦμεν εὐφυῶς τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰ τὰ βόρειον ἡμισφαίριον καὶ τὸ νότιον τῇ ἰσημερινῷ· ὁμῶς γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ<sup>1</sup> διαιρεῖται κατὰ ταύτην τὴν τομὴν καὶ ἡ διακεκαυμένη, καὶ ποιεῖ τινα ἐπιτηδειότητα ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἡμισφαίριον ἑκάτερον ἐξ ὅλων συνετάχθαι τριῶν ζωνῶν ὁμοιοειδῶν τῶν ἐν θατέρῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη τομὴ δεχεται τὴν εἰς ἑξ ζωνῶν διαίρεσιν, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα οὐ πᾶν. εἰ γοῦν τῇ διὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίχα τέμνοις τὴν γῆν, οὐκ ἂν εὐκότως ἑκάτερον τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων, τὸ τε ἰσπέρειον καὶ τὸ ἀνατολικόν, τέμνοις εἰς ζώνας ἑξ, ἀλλὰ ἡ εἰς πέντε ἀρκοῦσα ἂν εἴη τὸ γὰρ ὁμοιοπαθὲς τῶν τμημάτων ἀμφοτέρων τῆς διακεκαυμένης, ἡ ποιεῖ ὁ ἰσημερινός, καὶ τὸ συγκεῖσθαι περιττὴν καὶ περίεργον ἀποφαίνει τὴν τομὴν. ὁμοιοειδῶν μὲν οὐσῶν καὶ τῶν εὐκράτων καὶ τῶν κατεψυγμένων, ἀλλ' οὐ συγκειμένων οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὴν ὅλην γῆν ἐκ τῶν τοιαύτων ἡμισφαιρίων ἐπισυνουμένην ἀρκούντως ἂν εἰς πέντε διαιροίης. εἰ δ', ὥσπερ Ἑρατοσθένης φησὶν, ἡ ὑποσιπτουσα τῇ ἰσημερινῷ ἐστὶν εὐκράτος, καθάπερ καὶ Ἰλλυρία ὁμοδοξαί (προστίθῃσι δ' αὐτὸς καὶ διότι ὑψηλοτάτη ἐστὶ· διόπερ καὶ κατομβρεύεται, τῶν βορείων νεφῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἐτησίαις ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἀναστήμασι προσπιπ-

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ, ὅτι, εἰ διαιρεῖται, Madvig, ὅτι γὰρ ὅτι διαιρεῖται.

GEXILAPNY, D 1

[illegible]

τόντων πλαίστων), πολὺ κρεῖττον τρίτην<sup>1</sup> εὐκρατος ταυτην ποιεῖν στενὴν γίνα, ἥ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς τροπικοῖς εἰσάγειν. συνηγορεῖ δὲ ταύταις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὧν μέμνηται καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, τὸ θεκεῖ τὰς μεταστάσεις ὀξυτέρας εἶναι τὰς εἰς τὰ πλάγια, ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ τὰς ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν τοῦ ἡλίου· ὀξύτεραι γὰρ αἱ κατὰ μεγίστου κύκλου τῶν ὁμοταχῶν κινήσεων.

C 98 3. Ἐπίσταται δ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τῷ Πολυβίῳ, διότι φησὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ αἴκησιν ὑψηλοτάτην οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν σφαιρικὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὕψος διὰ τὴν ὁμαλότητα, οὐδὲ δὴ ὀρεινὴν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πεδιάδα ἰσοπέδον πως τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς θαλάττης· ταῖς δὲ πληρούντας τὸν Νεῖλον ὀμβροὺς ἐκ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὀρῶν συμβαίνειν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐν ἄλλοις συγχωρεῖ, φήσας ὑπονοεῖν ὅρη εἶναι τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ, πρὸς ἃ ἕκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν εὐκράτων ἀμφοῖν προσπίπτοντα τὰ νέφη ποιεῖν τοὺς ὀμβροὺς. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀπομολογία φανερά· ἀλλὰ καὶ δοθέντος τοῦ ὀρεινῆν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ, ἄλλη τις ἀνακύπτειν ἂν δόξειεν· οἱ γὰρ αὐτοὶ σύρρουν φασὶν εἶναι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> τῇ, Kramer suspecta and Meineke deletio, before εὐκρατος.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the circumstances just quoted from Polybius.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the equator and adjacent circles of latitude. Strabo means simply that the sun passes more rapidly with



ὠκεανόν. πῶς οὖν ἔρη κατὰ μέσον ἰδρύνουσιν αὐτόν, πλὴν εἰ πῆσους τινὰς βούλονται λέγειν, ὅπως δὲ δὴ ποτε τοῦτ' ἔχει, τῆς γεωγραφικῆς μερίδος ἔξω πίπτει δοτέον δ' ἴσως τῷ προθεμένῳ τὴν περι ὠκεανοῦ πραγματείαν ταύτ' ἐξετάζειν.

4 Μνησθεὶς δὲ τῶν περιπλεῦσαι λεγομένων τὴν Λιβύην Ἡρόδοτον μὲν οἶεσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Νεκῷ<sup>1</sup> πεμφθέντας τινὰς τελέσαι τὸν περίπλουν Ἡρακλείδην δὲ τὸν Παντικὴν ἐν διαλόγῳ ποιεῖν ὑφικμένον παρὰ Γέλωνα<sup>2</sup> μάγον τινὰ περιπλεῦσαι φάσκοντα. ἁμάρτυρα δὲ ταύτ' εἶναι φήσας καὶ Εὐδοξὸν τινὰ Κιζικηνὸν θεωρὸν καὶ σπανδοφόρον τοῦ τῶν Κορείων ἀγῶνος ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἱστορεῖ κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον Εὐεργέτην συσταθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοὺς ἀνέπλους τοῦ Νείλου θαυμαστικὸν ὄντα τῶν τοπικῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἅμα καὶ οὐκ ἀπαίδευτον. τυχεῖν δὲ τινὰ Ἰνδὸν κομισθέντα ὡς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων τοῦ Ἀραβίου μυχοῦ, λεγόντων εὐρεῖν ἡμίθανή καταχθέντα μόνον ἐν νηί, τίς δ' εἶη καὶ πόθεν, ἀγνοεῖν, μὴ συνιέντας τὴν διὰ λεκτον τὸν δὲ παραδοῦναι τοῖς διδαξουσιν ἐλληρίζειν. ἐκμαθόντα δὲ διηγῆσασθαι, διότι ἐκ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> All scholars agree that Strabo or Ptolemy made a mistake in giving the name of Darius here. It was Neco who ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, while Darius ordered that of Arabia. (Herod 4. 42).

<sup>2</sup> Γέλων, Corus, for Γέλων. Meineke approving.

can they place mountains in the center of the ocean — enclosed by mountains, they refer to certain islands? But however true may be it falls outside the province of geography, and perhaps we should give over these matters to some one to some one who proposes to write a treatise on the ocean.

4 In giving the names of those who are said to have discovered Libya Ptolemy says that Herakleitos himself and certain men commissioned by Nero accompanied the circumnavigation of Libya, and while that Herakleitos of Lybia is one of his Libyans makes a certain Magas who had come to the coast of Libya report that he had circumnavigated Libya. And after stating that these reports are unquoted by testimony he tells the story of a certain Eudoxos of Kyrene who sailed around Asia and passed beyond at the foot of Persia, came to India, the story goes, came to Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy the Second<sup>1</sup> and he became acquainted with the king and the king's ministers, and particularly in connection with the voyage up the Nile for he was a man inclined to admire the persuasives of dreams and was also not well informed about them. Now it so happened, the story continues that a certain Indian was brought to the king at the court giving the record of the Libyans (and who said that they had found him dead and alive on a stranded ship but that they did not know who he was or where he came from, since they did not understand his language, and the king gave the Indian nine or thirty of men who would teach him Greek, and when the Indian had learnt Greek, he related that on his voyage from India he by a

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy Phylas, who reigned a.d. 145-117

Ἰνδικῇ πλέον περιπίσοι πλάνη καὶ σωθείη  
 δεῦρο, τοὺς σύμπλους ἀποβαλὼν λιμῇ ὑπο-  
 ληφθέντα δὲ ὑποσχεσθαι τὸν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς πλοῦν  
 ἡγήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπο τοῦ βασιλέως προχειρισθεῖσι  
 τούτων δὲ γινέσθαι καὶ τὸν Εὐδόξον.

Πλείυσαντα δὴ μετὰ δωρὸν ἐπαυελθεῖν ἀντιφαρ-  
 τισάμενον ἀρωματα καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς, ὧν τοὺς  
 μὲν καταφέρουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ μετὰ τῶν ψήφων,  
 τοὺς δ' ὀρεκτοὺς εὐρίσκουσι, πιπηγότας ἐξ ὑγροῦ,  
 C 99 καθάπερ τὰ κρυστάλλινα παρ' ἡμῖν διαψευ-  
 σθῆναι δὲ τῶν ἑλπίδων· ἀφελίσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 ἅπαντα τὸν φόρτον τὸν Εὐαργέτην τελευταί-  
 στος δ' ἐκείνου τὸν βίον Κλεοπάτραν τὴν  
 γυναῖκα διαδεξασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν· πάλιν οὖν καὶ  
 ὑπὸ ταύτης πεμφθῆναι τὸν Εὐδόξον μετὰ μειζονος  
 παρασκευῆς ἐπαυριοντα δ' ἀνέμοις παρενχθῆναι  
 ὑπὲρ τὴν Αἰθιοπίας προσφερομενον δὲ τισι  
 τόποις ἐξαικειοῦσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μεταδόσει  
 σιτίων τε καὶ οἶνον καὶ παλαθιδων, ὧν ἐκείνοις  
 οὐ μετῆν, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων ὑδρείας τε τυγχάνειν  
 καὶ καθοδηγίας. ἀπογρύφισθαί τε τῶν ῥημάτων  
 ἑτα. εὐρόντα δ' ἀκρόπρωρον ξύλινον ἐκ ναυαγίου  
 ἵππον ἔχον ἐγγεγλυμμενον, πυθόμενον ὡς ἀπο-  
 τῆς ἑσπέρας πλούντως τινῶν εἶη τὸ καυδῆμα  
 τοῦτο, κομίζεν αὐτὸ ἀναστρέψαντα πρὸς τὸν  
 εἰσεῖον πλοῦν. σωθέντα δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐκέτι  
 τῆς Κλεοπάτραις ἡγουμένης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδός,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ, Μανιθεῖ προσηύκε το ἱππικὴ, αἶμα γινέσθαι.

strange mischance) mistook his course and reached Egypt in safety, but only after having lost all his equipage by starvation, and when his story was doubted, he promised to act as guide on the trip to India for the men who had been previously selected by the King, and of this party Eudorus, also, became a member.

So Eudorus sailed away with presents, and he returned with a cargo of perfumes and precious stones, some of which the others bring down with the sails, while others are found by digging, being on a bed from a liquid state, but as yet crystals are. But Eudorus was wholly deceived in his expectations, for Euryetes took from him his entire cargo. And after the death of Euryetes, his wife Cleopatra, succeeded him on the throne, and so Eudorus was again sent out, by her also, and this time with a larger outfit. But on his return voyage he was driven out of his course by the winds to the south of Ethiopia, and being driven to certain places he conciliated the people by sharing with them bread, wine, and dried figs, for they had no share of such things, and in return thereof he received a supply of fresh water and the g. dance of joints and he also made a list of some of their words. And he found an end of a wooden prow that had come from a wrecked ship and had a horse carved on it, and when he learned that this piece of wreckage belonged to some voyagers who had been sailing from the west, he took it with him when he turned back upon his homeward voyage. And when he arrived at Egypt, inasmuch as Cleopatra no longer reigned but

<sup>1</sup> It is following Strabo what sport of this "strange mischance."



ἀφαιρεθῆναι πάλιν πάντα· φεραθῆναι γὰρ νεο-  
σφισμένον πολλά. τὸ δ' ἄκροπρῳρον προφέρειντα  
εἰς<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἐμπορίον, δεικνύναι τοῖς ναυκληροῖς, γινώσκειν  
δὲ Γαδεειριτῶν δὲ· τούτων γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπό-  
ρους μεγάλα στέλλειν πλοῖα, τοὺς δὲ πεινητάς  
μικρά, ἃ καλεῖν ἵππους, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρῶταις  
ἐπιστήμων· ταύτοις<sup>2</sup> δὲ πλεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Λίξου  
ποταμοῦ περὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν ὀλιγομένους·  
ἀλλὰ τῶν δὴ ναυκληρῶν τινὰς γνωρίσαι τὸ  
ἄκροπρῳρον ἐνὸς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λίξου ποταμοῦ  
πορρώτερον πλευσάντων καὶ μὴ σωθέντων ὑπάρ-  
ξαν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαλόντα τὸν Εὐδοξον ὡς  
δυνατὸς εἶη ὁ περίπλους ὁ Λιβυκός, πορευθέντα  
οἰκάδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπιθέμενον πᾶσαν ἐξορμήσαι  
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Δικαιαρχίαν,<sup>3</sup> εἰτ' εἰς Μασ-  
σαλίαν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς παραλίαν μέχρι  
Γαδείρων, πανταχοῦ δὲ διακωδωνίζοντα ταῦτα καὶ  
χρηματιζόμενον κατασκευάσασθαι πλοῖον μέγα  
καὶ ἑφορκία δύο λέμβοις ληστρικοῖς ὁμοῖα, ἐμβι-  
βάσαι τε<sup>4</sup> μουσικὰ παιδισκυρία καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ  
ἄλλους τεχνίτας, ἔπειτα πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν  
μετῴρων ξιφυροῖς συνεχέσαι· καμνοντων δὲ τῇ  
πλῇ τῶν συναντῶν, ἄκοντα ἐπουρίσαι πρὸς γῆν,  
δεδοικότα τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ τὰς ἀμπωτεῖς,  
καὶ δὴ καὶ συμβῆναι ὑπερ' ἔδεδει· καθίσαι γὰρ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> eis, Meineke, for ἐν.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτοις, Casaubon, for τούτοις, Siebenkees, Orelli,  
Meineke following.

<sup>3</sup> Δικαιαρχίαν, Meineke, for Δικαιαρχίαν, C. Müller ap-  
proving.

<sup>4</sup> ἐμβιβάζαι τε, Meineke, for ἐμβιβάζεσθαι, Forbiger follow-  
ing, L. Kayser approving.

her own in her stead, he was again deprived of every thing, for it was discovered that he had stolen much property. But he brought the figure-head to the market-place and showed it to the shipmasters and learned from them that it was a figure-head from India, for he was told that whereas the merchants of India fit out large ships, the poor merchants of the islands which they call "horres" from the decay on the prows of their ships, and that they sail with these little ships on their voyages around the coast of Mauritania as far as the river Niger, and some of the shipmasters, instead of recognizing the figure-head as having belonged to one of the great ships, and so to rescue him for us, and the Niger River and had not returned home safely.

And from the above mentioned fact Eudorus conjectured that the circumstances in which Lycus was purchased went home, placed his property on a ship and put out to sea. First he put in at Thracæa, then at Mauritania, and then at the numerous ports along the coast until he came to India, and everywhere he was proclaiming his scheme and making money by trafficking he built a great ship and a number of boats like those used by pirates, and he put money on board, and provisions and other articles, and then he set sail on the high sea on the way to India favoured by constant western breezes. But since his companions became tired of the voyage he sailed with a fair wind towards the land, though wind it against his will, for he feared the ship and crew of the Indians. And, indeed, what he feared actually came to pass, the

<sup>1</sup> To Cyprus.

πλοίων, ἡσυχῇ δέ, ὥστε μηδ' αἰθροῖν διαλυθῆναι, ἀλλὰ φθῆναι τὰ φορτία σωθέντα εἰς γῆν καὶ τῶν ἡλκω τὰ πλεῖστα ἐξ ὧν τρίτον λήψαν συνεψάματον πεντηκονταρὶν παρῶν πλοῖν ὥς ἀθροῦντος συνεμῆξαι τὰ αὐτὰ ρήματα φθογγόμενοι.

C 100 ἄνω προτέρων ἀπογέγραπτο·<sup>1</sup> ἅμα δὲ τοῦτο γινώσκαι, ὅτι τε οἱ Ἰνταυθα ἄνθρωποι ομοσθύνει εἰς τοὺς Λιβύσιον ἑσπερος, καὶ ὅτι αἰεροῖσιν τῇ Βογοῦ βασιλείᾳ.

Ἄφωτα δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῖς πλοῖν ἀναστρέφειν ἐν δὲ τῇ παρακλῇ νῆσον εὐνῶρον καὶ εὐδαίμονος ἰσχυρὰν ἰδούσα σημιώσασθαι, σωθέντα δὲ εἰς τὴν Μαυρουσίας, διαθήμενος τοὺς λήμψαντες πολεῖν καμίσθηναι πρὸς τοῦ Βογοῦ καὶ συμβουλευόμεναι αὐτῇ τὴν ναυστολίαν ἐπικρατεῖσθαι ταύτην, ἰσχυρὰς δ' εἰς τὰναντία τοὺς φιλοῖν υποτασσόμεναι φοβέον, μὴ συμβῇ τὴν χώραν εἰσπικνεύμενος γινώσθαι, δεῖχθηναι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἑξωθεν ἐπιστρατεύουσιν ἰθιλαίῳ, ὡς δ' ἐκινετο λογῇ μὲν πεμπομένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπαδειχθεῖσαν ναυστολίαν ἰσχυρὰ δ' ἐκτεθεσόμενος αὐτῇ ὁρμηγῇ τινὲς σῆσον, φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατείαν, ἀάκειθιν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν διᾶραι· πάλιν δὲ κατασκευασάμενος στραγγυλῶν πλοίων καὶ μακρῶν πεντηκόντων, ὥστε τῇ μὲν πάλιν ἰσχυρῇ, τῇ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι τῇ γῇ ἐνθιμῶν γουερμαδ' ἰργαλῶν καὶ σφισμάτων καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ὁρμηγῇ πρὸς τοῦ αὐτῶν περιπλοῦν διαπορεύμενος, αἱ

<sup>1</sup> ἰσχυρῶν, Οὐκίη, ἐν ἰσχυρῶν; Μοικὸς ἰσχυρῶν.

ship was aground,—though so gentle that it was not broken up at once, and last succeeded in dragging safely to land the cargo and some part of the ship's furniture, and from it and timbers he constructed a third boat about as large as a P. of 25 tons, and he continued his voyage, with his intent to punish who spoke the same words that he had made a point of on the former occasion, and forthwith he learnt that, at least, that the men in that region belonged to the same nation as those of the former voyage, and also that they were neighbours to the natives of Argos.

Accordingly he abandoned his voyage to Asia and turned back, and on the voyage away the next he sailed and made note of an island that was well watered and well wooded but uninhabited. And when he reached Mavromata he discovered of his boats, traversed on land to the coast of Argos, and advised him to take up the expedition on his own account, but the friends of Argos persuaded to the contrary, inspiring in him the fear that Mavromata might in consequence be sent exposed to their attacks if the sea in that quarter was pointed out to outsiders who wished to attack it. And when Euboea heard that he was being sent out without it, on the expedition as proposed, he was not a ready one going to be feared out as some desert island, he fled to the territory that was under Roman dominion, and thence crossed over to Iuxia. And again he built a round ship and a long ship of 15 tons, his purpose being to keep to the open sea with his long ship and to explore the coast with the round ship. He put on board agriculturists, carpenters, cooks and carpenters and again set out with a view to the same destination, his intention being, in case the

βραδυνοῖτο ὁ πλοῦς, ἐνδιαχειμάσαι τῇ προσκεμμένη νήσῳ, καὶ σπείραντα καὶ ἀνελόμενον τοὺς καρποὺς τελεσαι τον ἐγνωσμένον ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλοῦν.

δ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν φησὶ, μέχρι δεῦρο<sup>1</sup> τῆς περὶ τὸν Εὐδοξον ἱστορίας ἤκω· τί δ' ὕστερον συνέβη, τοὺς ἐκ Γαδείρων καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰκος εἰδέναι, ἐκ πάντων δὴ τούτων φησὶ δεικνυσθαι, διότι ἡ οἰκουμένη κυκλῶ περιρρεῖται τῷ ὠκεανῷ.

οὐ γὰρ μιν δεσμὸς περιβάλλεται ἡπεῖροιο,  
ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπειρεσίην καυχται το μιν οὔτι μαίνει.  
(Müller, *fr.* iii. 281).

θαυμαστοί δὴ κατὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁ Ποσειδωνικός, τὸν μὲν τοῦ μάγον περίπλου, ὃν Ἡρακλείδης εἶπεν, ἀμάρτυρον νομίσας, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Νεκῶ πεμφθέντων, ὃν Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τὰ δὲ Βεργαῖον διήγημα τοῦτο ἐν πίστει μέρει τιθεῖς, εἰθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπλασμένον, εἰτ' ἄλλων πλασάντων πιστευθεῖν. τίς γὰρ ἡ πιθανότης πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περιπετείας, ὁ γὰρ Ἀρυβίος κόλπος ποταμοῦ δίκην στενός ἐστι καὶ μακρὸς πεντακισχιλίους ἐπὶ ταῖς<sup>2</sup> μυριοῖς πον σταδίους μέχρι τοῦ στόματος, καὶ τευτον στενοῦ παντάπασιν ὄντος οὐκ εἰκὸς δ' οὐτ' ἔξαι που τὸν πλοῦν ἔχοντας εἰς τὸν κόλπον παρωσθῆναι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς κατὰ πλάνην (τὰ γὰρ στενὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος δηλώσειν ἐμελλε τὴν πλάνην), οὐτ' εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἐπιτηδὲς καταχθεῖσιν ἐτι πλάνης ἢν πρόφασις καὶ ἀνεμων ἀστάτων.

<sup>1</sup> *ἐξέρε*, Meineke inserts, after *μέχρι*, Q. Müller approving.

<sup>2</sup> *τοῖς*, Casaubon inserts, before *μυριοῖς*; following the usage of Strabo. Q. Frick cites.

## GEOGRAPHY, I 3.4-5

voyage should be delayed to spend the winter on the island he had previously decided to sail the wind-trap the hardest time of year then finish the voyage which he had decided upon at the outset.

§ Now I have Pausanias "have traced the story of Heracles to this point, but what happened afterwards remains the property of poets and fiction writers. In from all these indications he seems to show that the ocean flows in a circle round the inhabited world. For he has no fetters of momentary encouragement, but he persists in his water-world view and is going over some time past." Now Pausanias is a trouble to follow in as this for although he considers as one quoted or testimony the story of the voyage of the Argos which Heracles did and of the voyage even of the emissaries of Nestor of which Heracles gives an account he puts down as no evidence the Hesperian story though he either inserted it himself or accepted it from others who were its inventors. For in the first place what would it be there in the "strange narrative" which the Hesperians tell about? Were the Argos (as it was a river into a narrow bay and it was not fifteen thousand stadia long up to its mouth which in its turn is narrow throughout its entire length and so it is not true that the Indians who were voyaging outside this gulf were pushed out of the river when the mist came for its narrowness at its mouth would have shown their course nor if they sailed into the gulf on purpose, did they any longer have the excuse that they mistook their course or encountered inclement

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of these verses is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote, p. 172.

C 101 λιμῶν τε πῶς περιεῖδον ἅπαντας ἀπολλυμένους<sup>1</sup> σφᾶς πλὴν ἑνός; περὶ γενόμενός τε πῶς ἱκανὸς ἦν μόνος κατευθύνειν τὸ πλοῖον οὐ μικρὸν ὄν, τὰ γε τηλικαῦτα πελάγη διαίρειν δυνάμενον; τίς δ' ἡ ὀξιμάθεια τῆς διαλέκτου, ἀφ' ἧς ἱκανὸς ἦν πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὥς δυνάμενος τοῦ πλοῦ καθηγήσασθαι; τίς δ' ἡ σπάνις τῷ Εὐεργέτῃ τῶν τοιούτων καθηγεμόνων, ἥδη γνωριζομένης ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῆς ταύτης θαλάττης; ὁ δὲ δὴ σπονδοφόρος καὶ θεωρὸς τῶν Κυζικηνῶν πῶς ἀφελὲς τὴν πόλιν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπλαι; πῶς δὲ ἐπιστεύθη τηλικαύτην χρεῖαν; πῶς δ' ἐπανῶν ἀφαιρεθεὶς πάντα παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἀτιμωθείς ἔτι μείζονα ἐπιστεύθη παρασκευὴν δώρων; ἐπανῶν δὲ καὶ παρενεχθεὶς εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, τίνας χάριν ἢ τὰς διαλέκτους ἀπεγράφετο, ἢ τὸ ἀκρόπρῳρον ἐπυνθάμετο τῆς ἀλιάδος πόθεν ἐκπέσοι; τὸ γὰρ μαθεῖν ὅτι ἀπὸ δύσεως κλεόντων ἦν ναιάγιον, οὐδενὸς ἔμελλεν ὑπάρξειν σημεῖον, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλεν ἀπὸ δύσεως πλεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον. ἐλθὼν δ' οὖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, φωραθεὶς ὥς νηυσφισμένος πολλά, πῶς οὐκ ἐκολάσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιήει τοὺς ναυκλήρους διαπυνθανόμενος, δεικνὺς ἅμα τὸ ἀκρόπρῳρον; ὁ δὲ γνωρίσας οὐχὶ θαυμα-

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολλυμένους, Kylander, for ἀπελομένους; all editors, except Kramer, following, O. Müller approving.

## GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

words. And how can it be that they permitted all their number to die of starvation with the exception of one man? And if he survived, how could he single handed have guided the ship which was not a small one, since at all events it could not very open seas of so great extent? And how strange his speedy mastery of the Greek language, which enabled him to converse the king that he was competent to act as pilot of the expedition? And how strange Egyptian society of common people, since the use in that region was already known by many men? And as for that poor blind and deaf and maimed of the palace of Isurus how came he to shew his native city and go on to India? And how did he come to be entrusted with so great an office? And although on his return everything was taken away from him contrary to his expectation, and he was in disgrace how did he come to be entrusted with a yet greater assignment of presents? And when he returned from this second voyage and was driven out of his course to Ethiopia, why did he write down those lists of words and why did he enquire from what source the leak of that sailing smack had been cast ashore? For the discovery that this lot of wreckage had belonged to men who sailed from the west could have signified nothing, since he himself was to sail from the west on his homeward voyage. And so again upon his return to Alexandria when it was discovered that he had stolen much property how was it that he was not punished and that he even went about interviewing shipmasters at the same time showing them the figure head of the ship? And wasn't the man that recognised the figure head a wonderful fellow? And



στός; ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας οὐ θαυμασιώτερος, καὶ  
κατ' ἐλπίδα τοιαύτην ἐπαυῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,  
καὶ μετοικισμὸν ἐκείθεν ποιησάμενος εἰς τὰ ἔξω  
Στηλῶν; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξῆν<sup>1</sup> ἄνευ προστάγματος  
ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀνώγεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα νενο-  
σφισμένῃ βασιλικῇ χρήματα. οὐδέ γε λαθεῖν  
ἐκπλεύσαντα ἐνεδέχετο, τοσαύτη φρουρὰ πει-  
κλισμένου τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξυδων,  
δοτην καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένουσιν ἔγνωμεν ἡμεῖς  
ἐπιδημοῦντες τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολὺν χρόνον,  
καίτοι τὰ νῦν πολὺ ἀνείται, Ῥωμαίων ἐχόντων·  
αἱ βασιλικαὶ δὲ φρουραὶ πολὺ ἦσαν πικρότεραι.  
ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὰ Ἰῳδεῖρα καὶ ναυπηγη-  
σάμενος ἔπλει βασιλικῶς, καὶ<sup>2</sup> διαλυθέντος αὐτῷ  
τοῦ πλοίου, πῶς μὲν ἐναυπηγήσατο τρίτον λέμβον  
ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῃ; πῶς δὲ πλέων πάλιν καὶ εὐρὺν τοὺς  
ἐσπερίους Αἰθίοπας τοῖς ἑσίοις ὁμογλώττους οὐκ  
ᾤρεχθῆ διανύσαι τὸν ἐξῆς πλοῦν, ὅττω χαῦνος  
ὢν πρὸς τὸ φιλέκδημον, μικρὸν ἔχειν ἐλπίσας  
λοιπὸν τὸ ἄγνωστον, ἀλλ' ᾤφειε ταῦτα τῆς διὰ  
Βογοῦ ναυστολίας ἐπεθύμησε; πῶς δ' ἔγνω τῆς

Ο 102

λαθρα κατ' αὐτοῦ συνισταμένην ἐπιβουλὴν, τί  
δὲ τοῦτ' ἦν τῷ Βόγῃ πλεονέκτημα, ὃ τάνθρώπου  
ἀφανισμός, ἐξοῦ ἄλλως ἀποπέμψασθαι; γνοῦν

<sup>1</sup> ἐξῆν, Cobet, for ἐξὲν ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> καί, is retained against Coraie and Meineke, who delete it.

[illegible]

ἐὰν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πῶς ἐβῆ φυγὼν εἰς ἀσφαλεῖς τόπους; ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ μὲν, ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν καὶ σπαρίως γινόμενον μετὰ τύχης τινας τῇ δ' εὐτυχεῖν αἰεὶ συνέβαινεν, αἷς κινδύνους καθισταμένην συνεχεῖ. πῶς δ' οὐκ ἔδεισεν ἀπαδράς τὸν Βόγον πάλιν πάλιν παρὰ τὴν Λιβύην σὺν παρασκευῇ διταμένην συνοικίσει νῆσον;

Οὐ πολὺ οὖν ἀπολείπεται ταῦτα τῶν Πυθίου καὶ Εὐημέρου καὶ Ἀντιφάνους ψευσμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐκείνοισι μὲν συγγνώμη, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὥσπερ τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς τῇ δ' ἀποδεικτικῇ καὶ φιλοσόφῃ, σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ περὶ πρωτείων ἀγωνιζόμενῃ, τίς ἂν συγγνώη, ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἶ.

δ. Το δὲ ἐξαίρεσθαι τὴν γῆν ποτε καὶ ἰζήματα λαμβάνειν καὶ μεταβολὰς τὰς ἐκ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπλησίων, ὅσα διηριθμησάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὀρθῶς κεῖται παρ' αὐτῷ· πρὸς δ' καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἶναι παρατίθησιν, ὅτι ἐνδέχεται καὶ μὴ πλῆσμα εἶναι τὸ περὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος, περὶ ἧς ἐκείνος ἱστορῆσαι Σόλωνα φησι πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱερέων, ὡς ὑπάρχουσά ποτε ἀφανισθεῖν, το μέγεθος οὐκ ἐλάττωον ἤπειρου· καὶ τοῦτο οἶεται βέλτιστον εἶναι

<sup>1</sup> The only direct reference extant in Plato to the truth or falsity of the story is made by Socrates to Critias: "And what other narrative" (but the Atlantis story) "has the very great advantage of being a fact and not a fiction?" (*Timaeus* 26a.)

<sup>2</sup> In Plato, one of the Egyptian priests is credited with

how could he have made his escape to places of safety? For, although there is nothing impossible in any escape of that sort, yet every one of them is difficult and rarely made even with a streak of luck, but Eudorus in a way attended by good luck although he is placed in jeopardy one after another. And, again, after he had escaped from Argos, why was he not afraid to sail once more along the coast of Libya where he had an outfit large enough to colonize an island?

Now really all this does not fall far short of the fabrications of Pytheas, Euhemerus and Antiphanes. These men, however we can pardon for their fabrications since they follow precisely this as their business just as we pardon jugglers. But who could pardon Pseudo-Scymnus, master of demonstrations and philosopher whom we may almost call the champion for first honors. So much, at least, is not well done by Pseudo-Scymnus.

6 On the other hand he correctly sets down in his work the fact that the earth sometimes rises and undergoes settling processes, and undergoes changes that result from earthquakes and the other similar agencies all of which I too have enumerated above.

And on this point he does well to cite the statement of Plato that it is possible that the story about the island of Atlantis is not a fiction.<sup>1</sup> Concerning Atlantis Plato relates that Solon, after having made inquiry of the Egyptian priests reported that Atlantis did once exist but it disappeared "on a and no smaller in size than a continent", and Pseudo-Scymnus thinks saying to Solon that Atlantis was larger than Libya and Asia put together and that, as a result of a "just as the story and the story of the world is the same as a single day and night (see Timaeus 26-27, and Critias 108 A, 113 C).

λάγειν ἢ διότι ὁ πλάσας αὐτὴν ἠφάνισεν, ὥς ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τεῖχος. εἰκάζει δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Κίμβρων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξανάστασιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας γενέσθαι κατὰ θαλάττης ἔφοδον, ἀβρόαν συμβᾶσαν. ὑπονοεῖ δὲ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης μῆκος ἐπτά πονυριαδῶν σταδίων ὑπάρχον ἡμῖν εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου κύκλου, καθ' ὃν εἰληπται, ὥστε, φησὶν, ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως εὐθυπλωῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἡλθοῖς<sup>2</sup> ἢν εἰς Ἰνδοῦς.

7. Ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς οὕτω τὰς ἡπείρους διορίσαντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ παραλλήλοις τισὶ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ, δι' ὧν ἔμελλον ἐξαλλάξειν δέικνυσθαι ζώων τε καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ἀέρων, τῶν μὲν τῇ κατεψυγμένῃ συναπτόντων, τῶν δὲ τῇ διακεκαυμένῃ, ὥστε οἶονεῖ ζῶνας εἶναι τὰς ἡπείρους, ἀνασκευάζει πάλιν καὶ ἐν ἀναλύσει δίκης γίνεται, ἐπαινῶν πάλιν τὴν οὖσαν διαίρεσιν, θετικὴν ποιούμενος τὴν ζήτησιν πρὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον.<sup>3</sup> αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται διατιξεις οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας γίνονται, καθάπερ οὐδὲ αἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη διαφοραί, οὐδὲ αἱ διάλεκτοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἐπίπτωσιν καὶ συντυχίαν καὶ τέχνας δέ<sup>4</sup> καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐπιτη-

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<sup>1</sup> εὐθυπλωῶν, Cobet, for εὐρυ κλίων; Bernadakis, A. Vogel, approving.

<sup>2</sup> ἡλθοῖς, Corais, for ἡλθεῖς; Cobet independantly; Bernadakis, C. Müller, A. Vogel, approving.

<sup>3</sup> χρήσιμον, Cobet, for χρησίμως.

<sup>4</sup> δέ, Corais, for τε; Meineke following.

that it is better to put the matter in that way than to say of America - its inventors caused it to disappear - as if they had put the world to a torch. And I think it is true - it is true that the migration of the people from their native country occurred as the result of an invasion of the people that came in as a conqueror. And he suggests that the length of the unbroken world being almost seventy thousand miles is half of the entire circle of the earth it has been taken as that says so, if you go from the west to the east you go to the east with a the people's history.

7. Thereafter an attempt is to divide with three who divide the whole world into continents in the way they like, and of by certain causes parts of the equator through descent of mountains and some elevated regions to various parts of the globe because some of these belong to the dry to the frigid zone and others to the torrid zone, so that the climates would be positive & sure, Ptolemy is again correct however, and what few he put in that he again arrives at the foregoing division into three continents and thus he makes the question a mere matter of argument with no words used in view. For such a distinction of animals parts and qualities exists is not the result of design just as the differences of race or of language are not either but other of accident and chance. And again as regards the various arts and for ties and institutions of mankind, most of them

[illegible]

δεύσεις, ἀρξάντων τινῶν, κρατοῦσιν αἱ πλείους ἐν ὁποιουῶν κλίματι ἔστι δέ τι καὶ παρὰ τὰ κλίματα, ὥστε τὰ μὲν φύσει ἐστὶν ἐπιχώριά τισι, τὰ δ' ἔθει καὶ ἀσκήσει. οὐ γὰρ φύσει Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν φιλόλογοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οὐ, καὶ οἱ ἔτι ἐγγυτέρω Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔθει οὕτως οὐδὲ Βαβυλώνιοι φιλόσοφοι φύσει καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλ' ἀσκήσει καὶ ἔθει καὶ ἵππων τε καὶ βοῶν ἀρετὰς καὶ ἄλλων ζώων, οὐ τόποι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσκήσεις ποιοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ συγγχεῖ ταῦτα. ἐπαινῶν δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν τῶν ἡπείρων, οἷα νῦν ἐστὶ, παραδειγματι χρῆται τῷ τοῦς Ἰνδοῦς τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν διαφέρειν τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ· εὐερρεστέρους γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἦττον ἐψέσθαι τῇ ξηρασίᾳ τοῦ περιέχοντος· διὸ καὶ Ὅμηρον πάντας λέγοντα Αἰθιοπας δίχα διαλεῖν,

οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος·

(*Od.* 1. 24)

Κράττητα δ',<sup>1</sup> εἰσάγοντα τὴν ἑτέραν οἰκουμένην, ἣν οὐκ οἶδεν Ὅμηρος, δουλεύειν ὑποθέσει· καὶ ἔδει, φησί, μεταγράφειν οὕτως.

ἡμὲν ἀπερχομένου Ὑπερίονος,

οἷον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ περικλίνοντος.

8. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἱ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ Αἰθίοπες

<sup>1</sup> Κράττητα δέ, Casaubon inserts; Corais, Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following, Kramer, O. Müller, approving.

when men have made a beginning flourish in any latitude whatever and a few instances even in spite of the latitude -- so that some men's character wins of a people more by nature others by training and habit. For instance it was not by nature that the Athenians were fond of letters, whereas the Lacedaemonians and also the Thracians who are still closer to the Athenians were not so -- but rather by habit. So also the Persians and the Egyptians are philosophers not by nature but by training and habit. And further the race qualities of horses, cattle and other animals are not merely of innate but of training also. But Pausanias concludes all this. And when he approved of such a division into three continents as is now accepted he goes on as an illustration the fact that the Indians differ from the Ethiopians of Libya for the Indians are hotter developed physically and less parched by the dryness of the atmosphere. And says he that is the reason why Homer in speaking of the Ethiopians as a whole divides them into two groups, 'some where Hyperion sets and some where he rises.' But says Pausanias as Crates in introducing into the discussion the question of a second inhabited world, about which Homer knows nothing is a slave to a hypothesis and says Pausanias the passage in Homer should have been amended to read 'both where Hyperion departs, meaning where he declines from the meridian.

§ Now in the first place the Ethiopians that border on Egypt are themselves, also, divided into

\* That is the hypothesis that one division of the Ethiopians lived south of the equator on the other side of Oceanus (see pp. 117 E.).



καὶ αὐτοὶ δέχθαι διαιροῦνται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ εἰσίν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐδέν διαφέρουτες ἀλλήλων. ἔπειθ' Ὁμηρος οὐ διὰ τοῦτο διαιρεῖ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ᾗδαι τοιοῦτους τινας τοῖς σώμασιν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν εἶδέναι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς εἰκὸς Ὁμηρον, ὅπου γε οὐδ' ὁ Εὐεργετῆς κατὰ τὸν Εὐδοξίαν μῦθον ᾗδαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, οὐδὲ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτήν), ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὴν λαχθεῖσαν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πρότερον διαίρεσιν. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Κρατητείου διηγήσαμην, ὅτι οὐδέν διαφέρει, οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως γράφειν· ἃ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν διαφέρειν φησί, κρεῖττον δ' οὕτως εἶναι μεταθεῖναι ἢ ἡμὲν ἀπερχομένου, τί οὖν διαφέρει τοῦτο τοῦ ἢ μὲν δυσομένου; πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τμήμα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἐπὶ δύοσιν δύοσις καλεῖται, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἡμικύκλιον ὅπερ καὶ Ἀρατος ἐπισημαίνεται,

ἤχι περ ἄκραι  
μίσγονται δύοσις τε καὶ ἀντολαὶ ἀλλήλησιν.

(Arat. Phaen. 61)

εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Κρατητείου γραφῆς οὕτω βέλτιον, φήσει τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου δεῖν.

C 104 Τοσαῦτα καὶ πρὸς Προσειδώνιον· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα τυγχάνει τῆς προσηκούσης διαίτης, ὅσα γεωγραφικὰ ὅσα δὲ φυσικωτέρα, ἐπισκεπτεον ἐν ἄλλοις, ἢ οὐδὲ φροντιστέον· πολὺ

<sup>1</sup> 4, Corals deleted, before 4, Mainake, Tardien, following, C. Müller approving.



γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἰτιολογικὸν παρὰ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ Ἀριστοτελεῖζον, ὅπερ ἐκκλίουσιν οἱ ἡμέτεροι διὰ τῆς ἐπικρυψῆς τῶν αἰτιῶν.

IV

1. Πολύβιος ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης χωρογραφῶν τοῖς μὲν ἀρχαίοις ἁν φησι, τοῖς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχουσαι ἐξετάζειν Δικαιάρχου τε καὶ Ἑρατοσθίνης, τὸν τελευταῖον πραγματισσομένου περὶ γεωγραφίας, καὶ Πυθίου, ὑφ' οὗ παραπρευσθῆναι πολλοὺς, ὅλην μὲν τὴν Βρεττανίαν τὴν ἑμβατὸν ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντες, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον πλαισίων ἢ τεττάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντας τῆς νήσου, πρὸς ιστορησάντας δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ' αὐτὴν ὑπῆρχεν οὔτε οὔτε θάλαττα οὐτ' ὄψρ, ἀλλὰ συγκριματι ἐκ τούτων πλεονομοὶ θαλαττίῳ ὄψεσσι, ἐν ᾧ φησι τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάττης αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ συμπατά, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν ἔασμον εἶναι τῶν ὄλων, μήτε πορευτοῦ μήτε πλωτοῦ ὑπαρχόντα· τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ πλεύμονι ὄψεσσι αὐτὸς ἐωρακέναι, τὰ δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθίου, καὶ διότι ἐπαυθῶν ἐνθενδε πάσαν ἐπέλθει τὴν παρωκεανὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδαιρῶς ὡς Ταναΐδος.

2 Φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ Πολύβιος ἀπιστοῦν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πῶς ἰδιωτῇ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τὰ τοσ-

<sup>1</sup> τῆς, A. Jacobi κεντα, βάσις ἐκείνη.

## GEOGRAPHY, 1 1 3-4 1

Pseudostrabo there is much inquiry into causes and much imitating of Aristotle—precisely what our school<sup>1</sup> would, on account of the obscurity of the causes.

### IV

1 Ptolemy, in his account of the geography of Europe, says he passes over the ancient geographers but examines the men who criticize them, namely, Theophrastus, and Proleptarchus who has written the most recent treatise on Geography, and Pythæas, by whom many have been misled for after asserting that he traversed over the whole of Britain that was necessary Pythæas reported that the coastline of the island was more than forty thousand stadia and added his story about Thule and almost those regions in which there was no longer either land properly so-called, or sea, or air, but a kind of substance extracted from all these elements, resembling a sea-lung<sup>2</sup> a thing in which, he says, the earth, the sea and all the elements are held in suspension, and this is a sort of bond to hold us together, which you can neither walk nor sail upon. Now, as for this thing that resembles the sea-lung, he says that he saw it himself but that all the rest he learnt from hearsay. That then is the narrative of Pythæas, and to it he adds that on his return from those regions he visited the whole coastline of Europe from Gades to the Tamas.

2 Now Ptolemy says that in the first place, it is incredible that a private individual—and a poor

That is, the State school of philosophy. Compare the same remark above on p. 85 and "our Zeno," p. 161.

<sup>1</sup> An analogy of the cosmophony.

αὐτὰ διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένοιντο τὸν δ' Ἑρατοσθένη διαπορήσαντα, εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν ταῦτοις, ὅμως περὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πεπιστευκέναι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. πολὺ δέ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ ταύτῃ. ὁ μὲντοι γὰρ εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν λέγει πλεῦσαι ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τῆς προσάρκτιον τῆς Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν, ἣν οὐδ' ἂν τῷ Ἑρμῇ πιστεύσαι τις λέγουσι. Ἑρατοσθένη δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαῖον καλεῖν, Πυθέα δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος, γελαῖον· ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ κανόνι χρῆσασθαι προσήκον, καθ' οὗ τοσούτους ἐλέγχοντες αὐτὸς προφέρεται. Ἑρατοσθένους δὲ εἴρηται ἡ περὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια καὶ τὰ ἀρκτικά τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγνοία. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ Δικαιάρχῳ συγγνωμη, τοῖς μὴ κατιδοῦσι τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους. Πολυβίῳ δὲ καὶ Ποσειδωνίῳ τίς ἂν συγγνώμη; ἀλλὰ μὴν Πολύβιάς γέ ἐστιν ὁ λαοδογματικὰς καλῶν ὑποφάσεις, ἃς ποιοῦνται περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῦτοις τοῖς τόποις διαστημάτων καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν οἷς ἐκείνους ἐλέγχει καθαρεύων. τοῦ γοῦν Δικαιάρχου μυρίου μὲν εἰπόντος τοὺς ἐπὶ Σιτήλας

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<sup>1</sup> That is, Hermon in his capacity as god of travel.

man see—could have travelled such distances by sea and by land and that, though Eratosthenes was wholly at a loss whether he should believe those stories, nevertheless he has believed Ptolemy's account of Britain and of the regions about India, out of them, yet he says it is far wiser to believe Ptolemy, the Megasthenes, than Ictheus. Ptolemy, at all events, asserts that he sailed only to one country, Parthia, whereas Ptolemy asserts that he explored as far as the end of the world, an assertion which no man would believe not even if Herodotus made it. And as for Eratosthenes—er, Ptolemy, as it is—though he calls Ptolemy a Berytus,<sup>1</sup> he believes Ptolemy and that, too, though not even Diodorus believed him. Now that all remark on high and even Diodorus has to credit him is ridiculous, as if it were fitting for Eratosthenes to use as a standard the man against whom he himself directs so many criticisms. And I have already stated that Eratosthenes was ignorant concerning the western and northern parts of Europe. But when we must praise Eratosthenes and Diodorus because they had not seen those regions with their own eyes, yet who could praise Ptolemy and Ptolemy? Nay it is precisely Ptolemy who charges us as "popular notions" the statements made by Eratosthenes and Diodorus as regard to the distances in those regions and many other regions, though he does not keep himself free from the error even where he criticizes them. At any rate, when Diodorus estimates the distance from

<sup>1</sup> That is, like Anaxagoras the celebrated physician of Sigeo, in Thucydides, iii. p. 172, and elsewhere.

ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου σταδίους, πλείους δὲ τοῦ-  
 τω τοις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄδριαν μᾶλλον τοῦ μυχοῦ, τοῦ  
 δ' ἐπὶ Στήλων τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ Πορθμοῦ τρισχιλίου  
 ἀποδόντος, καὶ γίνεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἑπτακισχιλίου  
 το ἀπὸ Πορθμοῦ μέχρι Στήλων τοῖς μὲν τρισχι-  
 λιοις ἴσως φησὼ, οὐτ' οὐ λαμβανόμεναι εἴτε μη-  
 τοις δ' ἑπτακισχιλίοις οὐδενίποτε, οὐδὲ τὴν παρα-  
 λίσσον ἀμετροῦντι, οὔτε τὴν διὰ μέσου τοῦ πελά-  
 γου τὴν μὲν γὰρ παραλίαν εἶπεναι μάλιστα  
 ἀμβλωτέρῳ γωνίᾳ, βεβηκυῖα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πορθμοῦ  
 καὶ τὴν Στήλων, κορυφῇ δ' ἔχουσα Ναρβωνα  
 ὥστε συνιστάσθαι τριγωνοῦ βασιὸν ἔχειν τὴν διὰ  
 τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείαν, πλευράς δὲ τὰς τῆς γωνίας  
 ποιούσας τὴν λιχθείσαν, ὥς ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Πορθμοῦ μέχρι Ναρβωνος μυρίων ἐστὶ καὶ πλείο-  
 νος ἢ διακοσίων ἐπὶ ταῖς χιλιάς, ἢ δὲ λοιπὴ  
 μικρῇ<sup>1</sup> διαστήσει ἢ ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ μὴ  
 πλείστον μὲν διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Ευρωπῆς ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν ὁμολογίεσθαι κατὰ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλα-  
 γον σταδίων οὐ πλείονος ἢ τρισχιλίων, κατὰ τὸ  
 Σαρδονικόν<sup>2</sup> δὲ λαμβάνειν συνάγωγην. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε,  
 φησὶ, καὶ ἐκείνους τρισχιλίων, προεληφθὼν δ' ἐπὶ  
 ταύτοις διςχιλίων σταδίων τὸ τοῦ καλποῦ βάθος  
 τοῦ κατὰ Ναρβωνα, ὅς τις καθύστερ ἀπὸ τῆς κορυ-  
 φῆς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιὸν τοῦ ἀμβλωγαντικῶν δῆλον οὐκ,

<sup>1</sup> *εὐθείᾳ*. *Caralis* supports, after *μαρὰ* (*crochard* *doctus*), *Μαρκία*, *Festiger* *Tacitus* *following*, *C. Muller* approving.

<sup>2</sup> *Σαρδόνιον*, *Μαρκία*, for *Σαρδόνιον*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the altitude of the triangle drawn from the vertex at Narbo to the base line, thus an allowance of 400.

the Peloponnese to the Pillars at ten thousand stadia and from the Peloponnese to the vertex of the Adriatic Sea at more than that, and when, of the distance to the Pillars, he reckons the part up to the Strait of Sicily at three thousand stadia, so that the remaining distance—the part from the Strait to the Pillars—becomes seven thousand stadia, Ptolemy says that he will not pass the question whether the estimate of three thousand is correctly taken or not, but, as for the seven thousand stadia, he cannot let the estimate pass from either of two points of view, namely, whether you take the measure of the coast, or of the line drawn through the middle of the open sea. For says he, the coast line is very nearly, and an obtuse angle, whose sides run respectively to the Strait and to the Pillars and with Narbonne vertex, hence a triangle is formed with a line that runs straight through the open sea and with sides that form the said angle, of which sides the one from the Strait to Narbonne measures more than seven thousand two hundred stadia, the other a little less than eight thousand stadia, and besides, it is agreed that the maximum distance from Europe to Libya across the Tyrrhenian Sea is not more than three thousand stadia, whereas the distance is reduced if measured across the Sardinian Sea. However, let it be granted says Ptolemy, that the latter distance is nine thousand stadia, but let it be further assumed as a *prima conditio* that the depth of the gulf opposite Narbonne is two thousand stadia, the depth being, as it were, a perpendicular let fall from the vertex upon the base of the obtuse-angled triangle<sup>1</sup>, then, says

1 1111 stadia is made for the remaining distance to Libya, measured on the probable altitude.



φησίν, ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς μετρήσεως, διὰ τὴν σύμπεσαν παραλία ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ Στήλας ἐγγιστα ὑπερέχει τῆς διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείας πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις. προστεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν τρισχιλίων, αἱ σύμπαυτες ἔσονται σταδίοι, αὐτοὶ αἱ ἐπ' εὐθείας, πλείους ἢ διπλάσιοι ὧν Δικαίάρχος εἶπε· πλείους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν δεήσει, φησί, τιθέναι κατ' ἐκείνους.

3 Ἄλλ' ὃ φίλε Πολύβιε, φηίη τις ἂν, ὥσπερ τούτου τοῦ ψευσματος ἐναργῆ παρίστησι τὸν ἐλεγχόν ἢ πεῖρα ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὧν εἴρηκας αὐτότ, εἰς μὲν Λευκιᾶ ἐκ Πελοποννησοῦ ἑπτακοσίων, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τοὺς ἴσους εἰς Κόρκυραν, καὶ πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὰ Κεραῦνια τοὺς ἴσους, καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰς τὴν Ἰαπυδίαν,<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κερανίων, τὴν Ἰλλυρικὴν παραλίαν σταδίων ἑξακισχιλίων ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα· οὕτως κάκεινα ψεύσματα ἔστιν ἀμφότερα, καὶ ὁ Δικαίάρχος εἶπε, τὸ ἀπὸ Πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ Στήλας εἶναι σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων, καὶ ὁ σὺ δοκεῖς ἀποδείξαι. ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ αἱ πλείστοι λέγοντες τὸ διὰ πελάγους μυρίαν εἶναι καὶ δισχιλίαν, συμφωνεῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ

<sup>1</sup> *Ionidias*, Jones, for *Iapydian*. M. Müller-Dahmer suggests *Iapydian*, see Gutschmid's critical note on *ibid.* 2. 10 (vol. i. p. 502).

<sup>2</sup> By computation the actual result = 436 stadia.

<sup>3</sup> By computation the actual result is 21,764 stadia.

<sup>4</sup> That is, more than 21,764 stadia, for Dicaearchus had reckoned the recess of the Adriatic to be farther away from the Peloponnese than the Piræus were.

Polybius. It is clear from the principles of elementary geometry that the true length of the coast line from the Strait to the Peloponnese exceeds the length of the straight line through the open sea by very nearly five hundred stadia. And if to this we added the three thousand stadia from the Peloponnese to the Strait, the sum total of the stadia, were it those measured on a straight line, would be more than double the estimate given by Thucydides. And, according to Dicaearchus, says Polybius, it will be necessary to put the distance from the Peloponnese to the recess of the Adriatic at more than this sum.<sup>1</sup>

3 But, my dear Polybius, one might reply just as the text based upon your own words makes evident the error of these false reckonings, namely: from the Peloponnese to Ierous seven hundred stadia, from Ierous to Corcyra the same, and again from Corcyra to the Ceraunian Mountains the same, and the Italian coast line to Iapygia on your right hand side<sup>2</sup> if you measure from the Ceraunian Mountains, six thousand one hundred and fifty stadia. So as all these other reckonings are both false both that made by Dicaearchus when he makes the distance from the Strait of Sicily to the Peloponnese seven thousand stadia and that which you think you have demonstrated for most men agree in saying that the distance measured straight across the sea is twelve thousand stadia, and this estimate agrees with the

<sup>1</sup> Polybius thus characterizes the distance from the Ceraunian Mountains to the head of the Adriatic as being very great, and it is not surprising that he should do so, for this was the same both of the country and the city of the Iapygians. Strabo thinks Polybius' estimate is too large.

τῇ ἡποφάσει τῇ περὶ τοῦ μήκου τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 μαλιστα γὰρ εἶναι φασὶ μυριάδων ἑπτά· ταύτου  
 δὲ τὰ ὑπερίον τμήμα το ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσσηικοῦ κόλπου  
 μέχρι τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ὅπερ δυσμικτωτά<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐστὶ, μικρὸν ἀπολαμβάνει τῶν τρισμυρίων· συντι-  
 θέσει δ' αὐτὰς ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἰσσηικοῦ κόλπου  
 μέχρι τῆς Ῥοδίας πεντακισχιλίους· ἐνθεν δ' ἐπὶ  
 Σαλμωσιον τῆς Κρήτης, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφ' ὅσον ἄκρον,  
 χίλιους αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Κρήτης μῆκος πλείους ἢ  
 δις χίλιους ἐπὶ Κριού μετωπον· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ  
 Παχυνον τῆς Σικελίας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεντα-  
 κοσίους,<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ Παχυνου δὲ ἐπὶ Πορθμόν πλείους  
 ἢ χίλιους· εἴτα το διαρμα τὸ ἐπὶ Στήλαι ἀπὸ  
 Πορθμοῦ μυρίους δις χίλιους·<sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ Στηλῶν δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τα τελευταῖα τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου τῆς Ἰβηρίας  
 περὶ τρισχιλίους· καὶ ἡ καθέτος δὲ οὐ καλῶς  
 εἴληπται, εἴτερ ἢ μὲν Νιρβων ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 παραλλήλου σχεδὸν τι ἴδρυνται τῷ διὰ Μασσα-  
 λίας, αὕτη τε τῷ διὰ Βυζαντίου, καθάπερ καὶ  
 Ἰππαρχος πείθεται, ἢ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πελαγους ἐπὶ  
 του αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τῷ διὰ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ῥοδίας,  
 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίας εἰς Βυζαντίον ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κειμένων ἀμφοῖν περι πεντα-  
 κισχιλίους<sup>4</sup> εἰρηκασὶ σταδίων· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἂν  
 εἴεν καὶ οἱ τῆς εἰρημένης καθέτου· ὅποι δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δυσμικτώτα, Locum, for δυσμικτέρα, editors following.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Μηνότιον τοῖς ἑξῆς ἀπὸ C M. et appropinqu.

<sup>3</sup> δις χίλιους τοσούτους τοῖς τρισχιλίους, ed. loc. following.

<sup>4</sup> δις Μηνότιον deletum, before εἰρημένης, and punctuated as in the text.

## GEOGRAPHY

[illegible]

1. *Case St. Vincent.*

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τὸ μάλιστα ἵκοντο τοῦ πολέμου τούτου το δὴ  
 οὗτος ἐκινῶντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλίου πενταεσχίμου  
 καὶ σταλὴν λένουσι πρὸ τοῦ μὲν το Γαλα-  
 τίου πόλεμου ὅπου μοι πεπληρωμένον λένουσι  
 τοῦτο ἡ πόλις τῆς Ἀλίου πρὸς τούτο τὸ μέρος  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ δαῖτος καὶ συνοπτεῖν τῆς  
 τῶν ἑλλήνων παραλήλειψαι καὶ τοῖς οὖν οὐδὲ  
 λένεται, το πλεονεξία τῆς λαοκρατίας τῆς λαχθεῖσαι  
 αὐτῶν τοῖς πόλεμοις οὐ γὰρ παραπληροῦσι ἀλλὰ  
 πόλις δυσμενέστερον ἐστὶν το ἵκοντο τούτο τῆς  
 λαοκρατίας, οὐδὲν σχεδὸν το ἀπολερῶντος το οὐ  
 μετὰ πρὸς τῆς λαοκρατίας το ἀπολερῶντος  
 καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν το μὲν πολέμου  
 πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ οὐ γὰρ

ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῆς λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι  
 μετὰ το ἵκοντο λένουσι ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἱστορίας  
 μὲν γὰρ οὐ λαοκρατίας τῆς λαοκρατίας αὐτῶν,  
 πλεονεξία φησὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ἐκινῶντι ἐξ ἱστο-  
 ρίας δὲ οὐ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι αὐτῶν  
 ὅπου πλεονεξία τῆς λαοκρατίας φησὶ τῆς πό-  
 λεως οὐδὲ λαοκρατίας ἐπὶ λαοκρατίας λένουσι  
 ἐκινῶντι αὐτῶν οὐδὲ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι  
 οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξία τῆς λαοκρατίας τῶν  
 ἀπὸ λαοκρατίας οὐδὲ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι  
 ἡ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι γὰρ τῆς λαοκρατίας  
 ἐκινῶντι οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξία τῆς λαοκρατίας  
 τῶν ἀπὸ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξία  
 τῶν ἀπὸ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξία  
 τῶν ἀπὸ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξία  
 τῶν ἀπὸ λαοκρατίας ἐκινῶντι οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξία

across the sea from Europe to India reckoned from the head of the Ganges tract as approximately five thousand miles. It seems to me that they made an erroneous statement of the distance of that region from ports far to the east and measure the passage that runs through the Straits. And I believe to agree with it when it says that the port of India is near the head of the sea of the Ganges. I think that the distance between the head of the Ganges and the Straits is not more than five thousand miles. And I think that the distance of the sea from the head of the Ganges to the Straits is not more than five thousand miles.

4. Next, the distance from the Straits to the Straits is not more than five thousand miles. It seems to me that they made an erroneous statement of the distance of that region from ports far to the east and measure the passage that runs through the Straits. And I believe to agree with it when it says that the port of India is near the head of the sea of the Ganges. I think that the distance between the head of the Ganges and the Straits is not more than five thousand miles. And I think that the distance of the sea from the head of the Ganges to the Straits is not more than five thousand miles.

μου πλευρὰς ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἐν τῷ Τάγῳ ποταμῷ  
 ὀκτακισχιλίων τίθησι το μήκος ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς  
 μέχρι τοῦ ἱερῆλαιου, οὗ δὲ πάλιν το συν τοῖς σκολι-  
 μασις οὐ γὰρ γεωγραφικῶς τούτο ἀλλ' ἐπ'  
 εἰδέναι λέγων, αἵτοι γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἡ ὤρηται αὐ τοῦ  
 Τάγου πηγῆς πλεον διαχέουσιν ἢ χιλιοὺς σταδίων  
 πάλιν δὲ τούτο μὲν ὁρῶντος ἀποφαίνεται, ὅτι ἀγνοεῖ  
 τὰ ἱερῆλαια οὐκ ἐκαστοσθενὴς καὶ διότι περὶ αὐτῆς  
 ἰσθ' ὅπου τὰ μαχόμενα ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι γὰρ μέχρι  
 ἱαδερῶν ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν περιοικεῖσθαι φησὶ  
 τὰ ἐξωθεν αὐτῆς οἱ γὰρ τὰ πρὸς δυσὶν τῇ κίρω-  
 πη μέχρι ἱαδερῶν ἔχουσιν αἰετοί, τούτω  
 ἐκλαβόμενος κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἱερῆλαιας περιοδὸν τῶν  
 Γαλατῶν οὐδ' αὖτε μνησται.

ὁ Τε γὰρ μήκος τῆς κίρωπης ὅτι διαττεται ὅτι  
 τοῦ συναμφῶ τῆς το Λιβυῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 ἔσθαι, οὐκ ὁρῶντος τῆς συγκρίσειν ποιεῖται το μὲν  
 γὰρ στομα τὸ κατὰ Στήλης φησιν, ὅτι κατὰ τῆς  
 ἰσημεριῆς ἔσθαι ὅτι, ὁ δὲ Ταναις καὶ ἀπὸ  
 θεμνῆς ἀνατολῆς διαττοῖται δὲ τοῦ συναμφῶ  
 μήκος τῇ μεταξὺ τῆς θεμνῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς  
 ἰσημεριῆς τούτω γὰρ ἡ Ἀσία προλαμβάνει πρὸς  
 τὴν ἰσημεριῆς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἀράτους  
 ἡμικυκλίου χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ περισσεύοντος ἐν πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> The [line]

<sup>2</sup> For the abstracted comparison of the length of Europe with that of Libya and Asia combined is not extant, but the general method is clear enough. Draw a circle 12" in radius in the equator from the 1° arc to the eastern coast of India (the 1° arc at the 12" radius circle). On the 1° arc on a circle describe a semicircle which will have for diameter a line 12" (or draw on a circle of 12" from one point to meet at Asia on the chord). Strabo says in 1° below that this point is a vertex. Draw a line to the vertex of the Tanais River produce this line in a north-easterly direction along the





μασιν εὐαποδότοις καὶ ψευδός ἐστι τὸ ἀπὸ θερικῆς ἀνατολῆς τὸν Τάραναι ρεῖν· ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ ἡμπερι τοῦ τόπων ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων ρεῖν φασιν εἰς τὴν Μαιώτιν, ὥστε τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς Μαιώτιδος καὶ αὐτοῦ τον ποταμον, ἐφ' ὅσον γινώριμός ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐταῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κείσθαι.

δ. Οὐκ ἄξιοι δὲ λόγου οἵτινες<sup>1</sup> εἶπον ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον τόπων αὐτὸν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχειν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, οὐκ ἐνθυμηθέντες ὡς μεταξὺ ὁ Τύρας καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Ὑπανίς, μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ, ρέουσιν εἰς τὸν Ποντον, ὁ μὲν τῇ Ἰστροῦ παράλληλος, οἱ δὲ τῇ Τανυίδι· οὔτε δὲ τοῦ Τύρα τῶν πηγῶν καταπτευμένων, οὔτε τοῦ Βορυσθένου, οὔτε<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Ὑπάνιος, πολὺ ἂν εἴη ἀγνωστότερα τὰ ἐκείνων ἀρκτικώτερα· ὥσθ' ὁ δὲ ἐκείνων ὄγων τὸν Τάραναι, εἴτ' ἐπιστρέφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν<sup>3</sup> (αἱ γὰρ ἐκβολαὶ φανερώς ἐν τοῖς προσαρκετοῖς μέρεσι τῆς λιμνῆς δείκνυνται, καὶ τοῦτοις τοῖς ἐνθινοτάτοις), πλαστός ἂν τις εἴη καὶ ἀπέραντος λόγος ὡς δ' αὐτως ἀπέραντος καὶ ὁ διὰ τοῦ Καυκάσου πρὸς Ἄρκτον φήσας ρεῖν, εἴτ' ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Μαιώτιν· εἰρηται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο. ἀπο μέντοι τῆς ἀνατολῆς οὐδαὶς εἰρηται τὴν ῥύσιν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔρρει αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἂν ἔπεν.

<sup>1</sup> οἵτινες εἶπον ἴσως τοῖς οἵτοις οἵτοις αἱ μὲν; καὶ ἴσως; Βιάδενκα, Corais. following

<sup>2</sup> οὔτε· οὔτε, Corais, for οὔτε. . οὔτε, Meineke following, C. Müller approx. ng

<sup>3</sup> ὄγων τὸν Τάραναι, εἴτ' ἐπιστρέφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Μαιώτιν, Βιάδενκα, for ὄγων εἰς τὴν Μαιώτιν τὸν Τάραναι, εἴτ' ἐπιστρέφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

## GEOGRAPHY. . . . .

from the stupor which characterizes them when he is passing matters that are of common place like a man but the Tami know from the experience of the man to whom he is who is a man with a long and all a Tami know from the north in Lake Mado and in such way that the mouth of the river the mouth of Lake Mado and a river of the Tami that as far as it has been known is on the same meridian.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> The [unclear]

<sup>4</sup> The Deist.

• *Not a sample.*

\* **The Book**

C 106 αντίως τῷ Νεῖλῳ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ δια-  
μετρον ρεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπεφαινόντο οἱ χαρίεστεροι, ὡς  
ἂν ἐπὶ ταύτῳ μεσημβρινοῦ ἢ παρακειμένου τινὸς  
τῆς ῥύσεως οὕσης ἑκατέρῃ ποταμῷ.

7. "Ἡ τε τοῦ μήκου τῆς οἰκουμένης μέτρησις  
κατὰ παραλλήλου τῷ ἰσημερινῷ ἔστιν, ἐπειδὴ  
καὶ αὕτη ἐπὶ μήκος οὕτως ἐκτέταται· ὥστε καὶ  
τῶν ἡπείρων ἐκάστης οὕτω δεῖ λαμβάνειν τὸ  
μήκος μεταξὺ μεσημβρινῶν δυεῖν κείμενον. τὰ  
τε μέτρα τῶν μηκῶν σταδιασμοὶ εἰσιν, οὓς θη-  
ρευομεν ἢ δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἰόντες ἢ τῶν πα-  
ραλλήλων ὁδῶν ἢ πορῶν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτον ἀφεῖς τὸν  
τροπὸν καινὸν εἰσάγει τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς τε θερινῆς  
ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς ἰσημερινῆς τμήμα τι<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἑρκτι-  
κοῦ ἡμικυκλίου. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀματώπιστα οὐδεὶς  
κανόνι καὶ μέτρῳ χρήται τοῖς μεταπτώτοις οὐδὲ  
τοῖς κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην σχίσιν λεγόμενοις  
πρὸς τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀδιάφορα<sup>2</sup>. τὸ μὲν οὖν  
μήκος μετὰπτωτον καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ λέγεται, ἀνα-  
τολὴ δ' ἰσημερινὴ καὶ δύσις, ὡς δ' αὐτὰς θερινὴ  
τε καὶ χειμερινή. οὐ καθ' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς·  
ἡμῶν δ' ἄλλοι<sup>3</sup> ἄλλῃ μεταχωρούντων, ἄλλοι<sup>3</sup>  
ἄλλοι τόποι καὶ δύσεων εἰσι καὶ ἀνατολῶν ἰση-  
μερινῶν τε καὶ τροπικῶν, τὸ δὲ μήκος μένει ταύτῃ  
τῆς ἡπείρου. Ἰαυαίη μὲν οὖν καὶ Νεῖλον οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> τμήματι, Tyrwhitt, for τμήματι; Müller-Dübner, Meineke, following.

<sup>2</sup> εἰ ἄρα, Kramer, for διαφορεῖν (εἰς ἕχοντα?), A Vogel approving.

be asserting that it flows in a direction contrary to, and in a great degree <sup>is</sup> opposed to, the <sup>idea</sup> of the <sup>flow</sup> meaning that the causes of the <sup>flow</sup> are as the same motion or even an motion that be close to each other<sup>1</sup>

The measurement of the length of the inhabited world is made along a line parallel to the equator because the inhabited world is the largest distance in the same way the equator does and in the same way therefore we must take as the length of each of the continents the space that lies between the equator. Again the account concerning the length is that it is plain and we need to draw the number of the distance as it is passing through the continents themselves or even along the route of travellers as it is known. But this is a question that arises from the fact that the distance is not a straight line segment of the earth but a curve between the extreme points and the equatorial distance. But we may observe that we measure things that are on a line for things that are not on a line, but we measure things that are made relative to a equator or centre for things that are grounds and measuring. Now we see the length is not variable and absolute equatorial things and things and in the same way distances surface and water surface are not absolute but relative to our earth's position and if we shift our position to different points the positions of continents and surface whether equatorial or non-equatorial, are different, but the length of the continent remains the same. Therefore we must be out of power to make the Indian and the North limits of continents, if a curve

<sup>1</sup> Compare 11, 1, 2.

ἄτοπον πέρασ ποιεῖσθαι, θερυνὴν δ' ἀνατολὴν ἢ ἰσημερινὴν καινόν.

Β. Προπεπτωκυίας δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκραις πλείοσι, βέλτιον μὲν οὗτος εἶρηκεν περὶ αὐτῶν Ἑρατοσθένους, οὕτω δὲ ἱκανός. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἔφη, τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς Στῆλας καθηκουσαν, ἐφ' ἣς ἡ Ἰβηρία, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, ἐφ' ἣς ἡ Ἰταλία, καὶ τρίτην τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας, ἐφ' ἣς τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πάντ' ἔσθῃ καὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. οὗτος δὲ τὰς μὲν δύο τὰς πρώτας ὁμοίως ἐκτιθεται, τρίτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας καὶ Σούνιον, ἐφ' ἣς ἡ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Ἰλλυρὶς καὶ τῆς Θράκης τινά, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ Θρακίαν χειρρόνησον, ἐφ' ἣς τὰ κατὰ Σηστών καὶ Ἀβυδὸν στενά, ἔχουσι δ' αὐτὴν Θράκης πέμπτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὸν Κιμμερικὸν βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος. τὰς μὲν οὖν δύο τὰς πρώτας δοτέον ἀπλοῖς γὰρ τισι περιλαμβάνονται κόλποις, ἡ μὲν τῇ μεταξὺ τῆς Κύλπης καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, ἐν ᾗ τὰ Γάδαιρα, καὶ τῇ μεταξὺ Στῆλῶν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας πελάγῃ· ἡ δὲ τούτῳ τε καὶ τῇ Ἀδρίᾳ, καίτοι ἢ γε τῶν Ἰαπύγων ἄκρα παρεμπόπτουσα καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δικόρυφον ποιούσα ἔχει τινὰ ἀντέμψασιν· αἱ λοιπαὶ δ' ἔτι ἐναργέστερον ποικίλαι καὶ πολυμερεῖς οὖσαι ζητοῦσιν ἄλλην διαίρεσιν. ὥς δ' αὐτως ἔχει καὶ ἡ εἰς δὲ διαίρεσις τὴν ὁμοίαν



ἐνστασιν ἀκολουθῶς ταῖς ἀκραῖς διελημμένη, ποιησόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα τὴν προσθήκουσαν ἐπανόρθωσιν καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ διημάρτηται καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς Αἰβύτης περιοδείᾳ. νῦν δ' ἀρκέσει ταῦτα λεχθέντα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν, ὅσους φήθημεν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι παρατεθέντας ἐκμαρτυρεῖν ἡμῖν, ὅτι δικαίως πρσευλόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔργον, τοσαύτης ἐπανορθώσεως καὶ προσθήκης δεόμενον.

## V

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους λόγοις συνεχῆς ἔστιν ἡ ἐγχείρησις τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑποσχέσεως, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν ἑτέραν λέγωμεν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν χωρογραφεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντα πολλὰ τῶν φυσικῶς τε καὶ μαθηματικῶς λεγομένων υποθέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόνοιάν τε καὶ πίστιν τὰ ἐξῆς πραγματεύεσθαι. εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι οὐδ' οἰκός, οὐδ' ἀρχιτεκτων οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν ἰδρύσαι καλῶς οἷός τε γένοιτ' ἂν, ἀπρονοήτως ἔχων κλιμάτων τε καὶ<sup>1</sup> τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σχημάτων τε καὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ θάλπους καὶ ψυχους καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων, μὴ τί γε τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην τοποθετῶν. αὐτο γὰρ τὸ εἰς ἐπίπεδον γράφειν ἐπιφάνειαν μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τὰ τε Ἰβηρικὰ

<sup>1</sup> τε καί, Graskurd, for τε ; Borbiger following.

is open to similar objection, since it has been made in accordance with the pronouncements. However, in my detailed account I shall make the suitable corrections, not only of these mistakes, but also of all the other serious mistakes that Ptolemy has made, both in the matter of Europe and in his circuit of Libya. But, for the present, I shall rest satisfied with what I have here said in criticism of my predecessors

that is, of so many of them as I have thought would, if cited, make enough witnesses to prove that I too am justified in having undertaken to treat this same subject, since it stands in need of so much correction and addition.

## V

1 Since the taking in hand of my proposed task naturally follows the criticisms of my predecessors, let me make a second beginning by saying that the person who attempts to write an account of the countries of the earth must take many of the physical and mathematical principles as hypotheses and elaborate his whole treatise with reference to their intent and authority. For, as I have already said,<sup>1</sup> no architect or engineer would be competent even to fix the site of a house or a city properly if he had no conception beforehand of "climates" and of the celestial phenomena, and of geometrical figures and magnitudes and heat and cold and other such things: much less a person who would fix positions for the whole of the inhabited world. For the mere drawing on one and the same plane surface of Iberia and India and the

<sup>1</sup> Page 25.



καὶ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ καὶ τὰ μέσα τούτων, καὶ μηδὲν ἦττον δύσεις καὶ ἀνατολὰς ἀφορίζειν καὶ μεσουρανήσεις, ὥς ἂν κοινὰς πᾶσι, τῷ μὲν προεπινοήσαντι τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διάθεσιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, καὶ λαβόντι ὅτι σφαιρικὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ κατ' ἀλήθειαν τῆς γῆς ἐπιφάνεια, πλάττεται δὲ νῦν ἐπιπεδος πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, γεωγραφικὴν ἔχει τὴν παράδοσιν, τῷ δ' ἄλλως, οὐ γεωγραφικὴν. οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ διὰ πεδίων ἰοῦσι μεγάλων, οἷον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, ἡ διὰ πελώγους παρίσταται τὰ πρόσω πάντα καὶ τὰ κατόπιεν καὶ ἐκ πηλεγίων ἐπίπεδα, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἀντέμφασιν παρέχει πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν, οὕτω καὶ γεωγραφοῦσιν παρίστασθαι ἀεὶ δεῖ τὰ ὅμοια. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πελαγίζων ἢ<sup>1</sup> ὀδεύων διὰ χώρας πεδ. ἄδος κοιναῖς τισι φαντασίαις ἀγεται, καθ' ἣς καὶ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς ἐνεργεῖ ταῦτά, ἀπειρος ὢν τῶν οὐρανίων, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντεμ-

C 110 φάσεις ἀγνοῶν. ἀνατέλλοντα μὲν γὰρ ὄρα<sup>2</sup> ἦλεον καὶ δύνοντα καὶ μεσουρανοῦντα, τίνα δὲ τρόπον, οὐκ ἐπισκοπεῖ οὐδὲ γὰρ χρήσιμον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ πρακείμενον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ παράλληλον ἐστάναι

<sup>1</sup> ἢ, Orosius, for καὶ before ὀδεύων; Meinake following; C. Müller approving.

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[illegible]

τῇ παρεστῶτι ἢ μὴ ταχα δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ μὲν, Ἀντιδοξαῖ δὲ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς μαθηματικῶς λεγομένοις, καθάπερ οἱ ἐπιχωριοὶ ἔχει γὰρ ὁ τόπος τοιαῦτα διαπτάματα. ὁ δὲ γεωγραφικὸς οὐκ ἐπιχωρίῳ γεωγραφεῖ, οὐδὲ πολιτικῷ τοιούτῳ, ὅστις μηδὲν ἐφρόντισε τῶν λεγομένων ἰδίως μαθημάτων οὐδὲ γὰρ βερεστῇ καὶ σκαπανεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῇ πεισθῆναι δυναμένῳ τὴν γῆν ἔχειν οὕτω τὴν ὅλην, ὡς οἱ μαθηματικοὶ φασι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τοιαύτην. κελεύει τε τοῖς προσιούσιν, ἐκεῖνα προεμβυμηθεῖσι τὰ ἐξῆς ἐφορᾶν· ἐκαινοὶς γὰρ τὰ ἀκόλουθα εἶρεῖν, ὥστε μᾶλλον ποιήσασθαι τῶν παραδιδομένων ἀσφαλῆ τὴν χρῆσιν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἢν ἀκούωσι μαθηματικῶς, τοῖς δ' ἄλλως ἔχουσιν οὐ φησι γεωγραφεῖν.

2. Τὸν μὲν δὴ γεωγραφοῦντα πιστεῦσαι δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐχόντων αὐτῷ τάξιν ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀκαμετρήσασσι τὴν ὅλην γῆν γεωμετραις, τούτους δὲ τοῖς ἀστρονομικοῖς, ἐκείνους δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς. ἡ δὲ φυσικὴ ἀρετὴ τις τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς ἀνυποθέτου φασὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> ἡρτημένας, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς<sup>3</sup> ἐχού-

<sup>1</sup> *Antiochei* μὲν, *Antiochei* δὲ, *Maehing*, for *Antiochei* μὲν *et* *Antiochei* δὲ. *Cobol* A. *Vogel*, approving.

<sup>2</sup> *αὐτῶν* and *αὐταῖς*, *Coraio*, for *αὐτῶν* and *αὐταῖς*; *Groskurd*, *Meineke*, *Forbiger*, *Tardieu*, following, C. *Ma.* for approving.

<sup>3</sup> That is, a kind of "supreme excellence." Plutarch says that the Stoics recognized three "supreme excellences" (*Ἀρεταί*) among the sciences—namely, physics, ethics, and

lands stands parallel to that of his neighbour. But perhaps we dare consider these matters, and yet hardly inquire as far as the principles of mathematics. It is the natives of our own place do for a man's place across as such. But the geographer does not write for the sake of any particular place, nor yet does he write for the men of affairs of the kind who use paid an attention to the mathematical sciences proper to be considered. But he writes for the wisest, and not for the foolish. But for the man who can be persuaded that the earth as a whole is such as the mathematicians represent it to be, and as it is, but is such as to be such as to be such. And the geographer urges upon his students that they first master these principles, and then consider the subsequent problems. For he declares he will speak up of the results which come from these principles, and then the students will, but he will not speak of the results of his teaching if they were as mathematicians, but he refuses to teach geography to persons not thus qualified.

2. Now as for the matters which he regards as fundamental to the principles of the science, the geographer must first upon the geometers who have measured the earth as a whole, and in their turn the geometers must rely upon the astronomers, and again the astronomers upon the physicists. Physics is a kind of *doctrina*, and by *doctrina* they mean those sciences that possess nothing but depend upon themselves, and contain within themselves their own

logic, and that they regarded as these as the expedient arts for the *scientia* in the enjoyment of knowledge which is wisdom.

σας τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτων πίστεις. τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν φυσικῶν δεικνύμενα τοιαῦτά ἐστι· σφαιροειδὴς μὲν ὁ κόσμος καὶ ὁ οὐρανός, ἡ ῥοπή δ' ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν βαρέων· περὶ τοῦτό τε συνεισῴσα ἡ γῆ σφαιροειδῶς ὁμοκεντρος τῷ μὲν οὐρανῷ μένει καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ δι' αὐτῆς ἄξων καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μέσον τεταμένος, ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς περιφέρεται περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄξονα ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες ὁμοταχεῖς τῷ πόλῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες κατὰ παραλλήλων φέρονται κύκλων· παράλληλοι δ' εἰς τὴν γνωριμώτατον ὃν τε ἰσημερινὸν καὶ οἱ τροπικοὶ δύο καὶ οἱ ἀρκτικοί· οἱ δὲ πλανήτες ἀστέρες καὶ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη κατὰ λοξῶν τινῶν, τῶν τεταγμένων ἐν τῷ ζωδιακῷ. τοῦτοις δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἢ πάντες ἢ τισιν οἱ ἀστρονομικοὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πραγματεύονται, κινήσεις καὶ περιοδοὺς καὶ ἐκλείψεις καὶ μεγέθη καὶ ἀποστάσεις καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ὥς δ' αὐτως οἱ τὴν γῆν ὅλην ἀναμετροῦντες γεωμέτραι προστίθενται ταῖς τῶν φυσικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀστρονομικῶν δοξαῖς, ταῖς δὲ τῶν γεωμετρῶν πάλιν οἱ γεωγράφοι.

C 111 3. Πενταζωνον μὲν γὰρ ὑποθέσθαι δεῖ τὸν οὐρανόν, πεντάζωνον δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, ὁμωνυμοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰς ζώνας τὰς κύτω ταῖς ἄνω· τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰρήκαμεν τῆς εἰς τὰς ζώνας διαιρέσεως διορίζονται δ' ἀπὸ αἱ ζῶναι κυκλοῖς παραλλήλοις τῷ ἰσημερινῷ γραφομένοις ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ, δυοὶ

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principles as well as the proofs thereof. Now what we are taught of the planets is as follows. The universe and the heavens are spheres shaped. The boundaries of the spheres are all weightless towards the centre. And having taken its position about the centre in the form of a sphere the earth remains homocentric with the heavens as does also the sun through which all the stars extend also through the centre of the heavens. The heavens revolve round the north and the sun from east to west and along with the heavens revolve the fixed stars with the same rapidity as the vastity of the heavens. Now the fixed stars move along parallel circles and the best known of these circles are the equator the two tropics and the Arctic circle whereas the planets and the sun and the moon move along circles of various sizes and revolve in the ecliptic. Now the astronomers have accepted these principles, either in whole or in part and have worked out the movements of the heavenly bodies according to these principles their own respective distances and a great deal of things. And in the same way the geographers have been measuring the earth as a whole according to the distances of the planets and the astronomers and in their turn the geographers have referred to those of the astronomers.

And thus we must take as an axiom that the heavens have five zones and the earth one has five zones, and that the terrestrial spheres have the same masses as the celestial spheres. I have now placed the reasons for this division into zones. The limits of the zones can be deduced by circles drawn on both sides of the equator and parallel to it.

μὲν τοῖς ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὴν διακεκαυμένην, δυσὶ  
 δὲ τοῖς μετὰ τούτους, οἳ πρὸς μὲν τῇ διακεκαυμένῃ  
 τὰς εὐκράτους δύο πακοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς εὐκράτοις  
 τὰς κατεψυγμένας. ὑποπίπτει δ' ἐκάστω τῶν  
 οὐρανίων κύκλων ὁ ἐπὶ γῆς ὁμωνύμος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἡ  
 ζωνὴ δὲ ὡσαύτως τῇ ζώνῃ. εὐκράτους μὲν οὖν  
 φασὶ τὰς οἰκεῖσθαι δυναμένας, ἀεικήτους δὲ τὰς  
 ἄλλας, τὴν μὲν διὰ καῦμα, τὰς δὲ διὰ ψύχος.  
 τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ περὶ τῶν τροπικῶν καὶ  
 τῶν ἀρκτικῶν, παρ' οἷς εἰσιν ἀρκτικοί, διορίζουσιν  
 ὁμωνύμους<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἄνω τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ποιοῦντες, καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐκάστοις ὑποπίπταντας. τοῦ δ' ἰσημεριοῦ  
 δίχα τέμνοντες τὸν ὅλον οὐρανόν, καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 ἀνάγκη διαιρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἰσημεριοῦ.  
 καλεῖται δὲ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἐκάτερον τῶν γε  
 οὐρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ μὲν βόρειον, τὸ δὲ  
 νότιον· οὕτως δὲ καὶ τῆς διακεκαυμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ κύκλου δίχα διαιρουμένης τὸ μὲν ἔσται  
 βόρειον αὐτῆς μέρος, τὸ δὲ νοτιον. δῆλον δ' ὅτι  
 καὶ τῶν εὐκράτων ζωνῶν ἡ μὲν ἔσται βόρειος, ἡ  
 δὲ νότιος, ὁμωνύμως τῇ ἡμισφαιρίῳ ἐν ᾗ ἔστι.  
 καλεῖται δὲ βορειον μὲν ἡμισφαίριον τὸ τὴν εὐ-  
 κρατον ἐκείνην περιέχον ἐν ᾗ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς  
 βλέποντι ἐπὶ τὴν δυσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔστιν ὁ  
 πόλος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ὁ ἰσημερινός, ἡ ἐν ᾗ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ὁμωνύμοι, Corais, for ὁμωνύμοι, Groskurd following.

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namely by the circles which enclose the torrid zone, and by two others, the arctic and antarctic, which form the northern and southern limits to the torrid zone and the two frigid zones next to the temperate zones. Beneath each of the circles is denoted in the one surrounding letters a circle which bears the same name and in the same manner beneath the external zone the terrestrial zone. Now they call temperate the zone that can be cultivated, the others the frigid zones. The one on account of the heat and the other for a want of the sun. I have observed in the same manner with reference to the tropic and the arctic circles that in many countries which sit under the same line define their zone to be giving the latitude in the same manner as the circles and that they divide the terrestrial circles into three beneath the seven celestial circles. Since the circle equator cuts the whole heavens in two, the earth has must of necessity be cut in two by the terrestrial equator. In the two hemispheres—[I refer to the circumpolar as well as the two terrestrial] temperate zones one is called "the northern hemisphere" and the other "the southern hemisphere" because since the torrid zone is cut in two by the same circle the one part of it is called the northern and the other the southern. It is clear that of the temperate zones in the one half or northern and the other half are each seeing the most of the hemisphere nearest it so that hemisphere is called that hemisphere which contains that temperate zone in which as you look from the east to the west, the pole is on your right hand and the equator on your left or in which as you look toward

<sup>1</sup> See 2. 2. 2 and footnote.



μυσημβρίαν βλέπουν· ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐστὶ εὐραία,  
ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ἀνατολή, νότιον δὲ τὸ ἐναντίως  
ἔχον· ὥστε δηλόν ἐστι ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν ἐν θατέρῳ τῶν  
ἡμισφαιρίων, καὶ τῇ βορείῳ γε, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις δ'  
οὐχ οἷόν τε.

μέσσοι γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοί,

Ὀκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτος, (Oed. 11 157)

ἔπειτα ἡ διακεκαυμένη. αὐτοὶ δὲ ὠκεανὸς ἐν μέσῳ  
τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τέμνων ὅλην, οὐτ'  
οὖν διακεκαυμένον χωρίον οὐδὲ δι' μέρος αὐτῆς  
εὐρίσκεται τοῖς κλίμασι ὑπεναντίως ἔχον τοῖς  
λαχθείσιν ἐν τῇ βορείῳ εὐκράτῃ.

6. Λαβὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ὁ γεωμέτρικ. προσχρησά-  
μενος τοῖς γνωμονικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ὑπὸ  
τοῦ ἀστρονομικοῦ δεικνυμένοις, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε παραλ-  
ληλοὶ τῇ ἰσημερινῇ εὐρίσκονται αἱ καθ' ἑκάστην  
τῆς αἰκῆς καὶ αἱ πρὸς ὀρθὰς τέμνοντες τούτους,  
γραφόμενοι δὲ διὰ τῶν πόλων, καταμετρεῖ τὴν μὲν  
οἰκησιμον ἐμβατεύων, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐκ τοῦ λογοῦ  
τῶν ἀποστάσεων. οὕτω δ' ἂν εὕρισκοι, πόσον ἂν  
εἴη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ μέχρι πόλου, ὥπερ  
ἐστὶ τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μεγίστου κύκλου τῆς γῆς·  
ἔχων δὲ τοῦτο ἔχει καὶ τὸ τετραπλάσιον αὐτοῦ,  
ταῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περίμετρος τῆς γῆς. ὥπερ οὖν  
ὁ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀναμετρῶν παρὰ τοῦ ἀστρονομούν-  
τος ἔλαβε τὰς ἀρχάς, αὗτ' δὲ ἀστρονόμος παρὰ τοῦ  
φυσικοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρη καὶ τὸν γεωγράφον

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<sup>1</sup> The words τοῖς γνωμονικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις were omitted  
by Krassus and Meineke without comment.

the south the west is on your right hand and the east on your left and that hemisphere is called "us then hemisphere" in which the equator is true and hence it is clear that we are in one of the two hemispheres that is of course in the northern, and that it is impossible for us to be in both. "He then there are great rivers that flow in and then the turrel and. But notice is there an Ocean in the centre of our whole round world clearing the place of it, now to be sure is there a land and is it not yet indeed is there a part of it to be found when the main are equator to the main which I have given for the northern temperate zone."

6 He explaining these principles then and also by making use of the sundial and the other things given him by the astronomer by means of which are found, for the several situated places, both the circles that are parallel to the equator and the circles that cut the former at right angles, the latter being drawn through the poles. The geometer can measure the distance of the north by measuring it and the rest of the earth by his calculation of the terrain. In this way he can find the distance from the equator to the pole which is a fourth part of the earth's largest circle and when he has this distance he measures it by four and this is the circumference of the earth. According to what the man who measures the earth gets his principles from the astronomer and the astronomer has from the physicist, so, too, the geographer must to the

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 2, page 20.

<sup>2</sup> The distance of each portion would have to fall within the southern hemisphere.

παρὰ τοῦ ἀναμεματρηκότος ἄλλην τὴν γῆν ὀρμηθέντα, πιστευσαντα τούτῳ καὶ οἷς ἐπίστευσαν οὗτος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκθέσθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην καθ' ἡμᾶς, πόση τις καὶ ποία τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν φύσιν οἷα ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην γῆν· ἴδιον γὰρ τοῦ γεωγράφου τοῦτο· ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ποιήσασθαι τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον, παρασημαινόμενον ὅσα μὴ ἱκανῶς εἴρηται τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν τοῖς μάλιστα πεπιστευμένοις ὑρίστοις γεγονέναι περὶ ταῦτα.

Β. Ὑποκείσθω δὴ σφαιροειδὴς ἡ γῆ σὺν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καὶ<sup>1</sup> μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἴσχουσα τοῖς πελάγεσι. συγκρύπτοιτο γὰρ ἂν τὸ ἐξέχου τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ τοσούτῳ μεγέθει μικρὸν ὅν καὶ λανθάνειν δυνάμενον, ὥστε τὰ σφαιροειδὲς ἐπὶ τούτων οὐχ ὥς ἂν ἐκ τόρνου φαμέν, οὐδ' ὥς ὁ γεωμέτρης πρὸς λόγον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αἴσθησιν, καὶ ταύτην παχυτέραν. νοείσθω δὲ πεντάζωνος, καὶ ὁ ἰσημερινὸς τεταγμένος ἐν αὐτῇ κύκλος, καὶ ἄλλος τοῦτ' παραάλληλος, ὀρίζων τὴν κατεψυγμένην ἐν τῷ βορείῳ ἡμισφαιρίῳ, καὶ διὰ τῶν πόλων τις τεμνων τούτους πρὸς ὀρθάς. τοῦ δὲ βορείου ἡμισφαιρίου δύο περιέχοντος τεταρτημόρια τῆς γῆς, ἃ ποιεῖ ὁ ἰσημερινὸς πρὸς τὸν διὰ τῶν πόλων, ἐν

<sup>1</sup> καί, Groekurd inserts, before μίαν.

man who first take his point of departure from the man who has measured the earth as a whole having concluded that man is a being in whom he is interested, had to invent a fiction, even in the first instance, our civilized world. It is the case as if the man who is taken to the earth as a whole for the first time the personal look of the geographer. Then proceed to he must have a fitting garment the severe parts of the civilized world with and and and and and a passing wherein the subject has been treated in a way that by those of our predecessors whom we have admired to be the best authorities on these matters.

Now let us take as hypothesis that the earth together with the sea is sphere shaped and that the surface of the earth is one and the same with that of the sea. Now for the circles on the earth's surface would disappear from consideration because they are without comparison with the great size of the earth and of the government and so we use sphere instead for figures of this kind not as though they were turned on a globe but as the geometer uses the sphere for demonstration but as an aid to our conceptions of the earth and that, too a rather rough examination. Now let us conceive of a sphere with five zones and let the equator be drawn as a circle upon that sphere, and let a second circle be drawn passing through the center of the sphere in the northern hemisphere and let a third circle be drawn through the poles cutting the other two circles at right angles. Then since the northern hemisphere contains two-thirds of the earth which are formed at the equator with the circle that passes through the poles, a quadrilateral area is

ἐκατέρω τούτων ἀπολαμβάνεται τετρίπλευρον χωρίον, οὗ ἡ μὲν βόρειος πλευρὰ ἡμῶν τοῦ πρὸς τῷ πόλῳ παραλλήλου ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ νότιος τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ἡμῶν, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πλευραὶ τμήματά εἰσι τοῦ διὰ τῶν πόλων, ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἴσα τὸ μήκος ἐν θατέρῳ δὴ τῶν τετραπλεύρων τούτων (ὅποτέρῳ δ' οὐδὲν ἂν διαφέρειν δύξαιεν) ἰδρῦσθαί φασιν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην, περίπλουτον θαλάττῃ καὶ ἰοικυῖαν νήσῳ εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῇ αἰσθῆσει καὶ τῷ λόγῳ δείκνυται τοῦτα. εἰ δ' ὑπιστεῖ τις τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, διαφέρειν ἂν πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν οὐδεν νῆσον ποιεῖν, ἢ ὅπερ ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἐλάβομεν, τούτῳ συγχωρεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡοῦς ἐκατέρωθεν περιπλους ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν μέσων χωρίων ταῦτα δ' οὐ διαφέρει θαλύττῃ περυτοῦσθαι ἢ γῇ ἀοικῆναι· ὁ γὰρ γεωγραφῶν ζητεῖ τὰ γινώριμα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰπεῖν, τὰ δ' ἄγνωστα ἐξ, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔξω αὐτῆς. ἀρκέσει δ' ἐπιζεύξασιν εὐθείαν γραμμὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕστατα σημεῖα τοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν παρύπλου τὸ πᾶν ἐκπληρῶσαι σχῆμα τῆς λεγομένης νήσου.

6. Προκείσθω δὴ· ἡ μὲν νῆσος ἐν τῷ λεχθέντι τετραπλεύρῳ. δεῖ δὲ λαβεῖν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> δὲ, Sprengel, for δέ; Meineke following.

<sup>1</sup> See page 17.

<sup>2</sup> That is, one could circumnavigate the inhabited world by setting out in any one of four ways—either north or south,



τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀφελόντας ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὅλου μεγέθους τῆς γῆς τὸ ἡμισφαίριον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τὸ ἡμισυ, ἀπὸ δ' αὖ τούτου πάλιν τὸ τετράπλευρον, ἐν ᾧ δὴ τὴν οἰκουμένην κεῖσθαι φασιν. ἀνάλογον δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος ὑπολαβεῖν δεῖ, τὸ φαινόμενον τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἐφαρμόττοντα. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ<sup>1</sup> μεταξὺ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ καὶ τοῦ ληφθέντος παραλλήλου τούτου πρὸς τῷ πολλῇ τμήμα τοῦ βορείου ἡμισφαίριου σπονδυλὸς ἐστὶ το σχῆμα, ὃ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πολλοῦ δίχα τέμνων τὸ ἡμισφαίριον δίχα τέμνει καὶ τὸν σπονδυλὸν καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ τετράπλευρον, ἔσται δηλονότι σπονδυλὸν ἐπιφανείας ἡμισυ τὸ τετράπλευρον ᾧ ἐπίκειται τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος· ἢ δ' οἰκουμένη χλαμυδοειδὴς ἐν τούτῳ νῆσος, ἐλάττω<sup>2</sup> ἢ ἡμισυ τοῦ τετράπλευρου μέρος οὕσα φανερόν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τε γεωμετρίας καὶ τοῦ πληθους τῆς περιεχυμένης θαλαττης, καλυπτουσης τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ἡπείρων ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ συναγωγούσης εἰς μίαιραν<sup>3</sup> σχῆμα, καὶ τρίτου τοῦ μήκους καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τὸ . τμήμα, Kramer, for τοῦ . . τμήματος, editors following.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλάττω, Casaubon, for ἐλάττω; Stabenkoon, Cornis, following.

<sup>3</sup> μίαιραν, Meineke restores, the reading before Kramer, C. Müller approving.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo has assumed that the earth is sphere-shaped and that the inhabited world is an island within a certain spherical quadrilateral. Then, after conforming the inhabited world to the limits of the quadrilateral, which represents only the obvious, or apparent, size and shape, he proceeds by argument to define more accurately both the size and the shape within the limits of the quadrilateral.

## GEOGRAPHY. 636

[illegible]

■ 1999年10月1日 起实施

[illegible]







μυριάδες καὶ τρισχίλιοι τοῦτο δὲ ὄντι τὰ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλον πενταεκαδικὰ ἐξ  
 αὐτάων, οἷον ὅστις ὁ ἰσημερινὸς ἐξήκοντα, τὸ  
 δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ὄντι τὸν θεριον τροπικὸν  
 τεττάρων οὐκ ὅστις ὁ διὰ Σιήνης γραφε-  
 μένος παραλλήλος, συλλογίζεται δὴ τὰ καθ'  
 ἕκαστα διαστήματα ἐκ τῶν φαινόμενων μετρώ-  
 τον μὲν γὰρ τροπικὸν κατὰ Σιήνην κεῖσθαι συμ-  
 βαιναί, ὥστε ἔνταυθα κατὰ τὰς θερινας τροπὰς  
 ἕκαστος ὅστις ὁ γυνώσκων μᾶστις ἡμέρας, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ  
 τῆς Σιήνης μεσημέριον γραφεται μάλιστα διὰ  
 τῆς τοῦ Ἰαλίου ρυσσῆς ἀπὸ Μιροῦς ὡς Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρείας σταδίων δ' αἰσιν οὗτοι κατὰ μυρίου κατὰ  
 μισοῦ διὰ τὸ διάστημα τὴν Σιήνην ἰδρῦσθαι συμ-  
 βαιναί, ὥστ' ἔνταυθα ἐπὶ Μιροῦν πενταεκαχίλιοι  
 προεῖναι δ' ἐπ' αὐθιᾶς ὅσον τρισχίλιους σταδίων  
 ἐπὶ μεσημέριον, αἰετὶ' οὐκ ὀκνηματὰ δὲ ὅστις διὰ  
 καὶ οὗτο ὥστε τὸν διὰ τούτων τῶν τόπων παράλ-  
 ληλον, τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ διὰ τῆς Κιτταμο-  
 νοφορεῖ, πᾶρας καὶ ἀρχὴν δεῖ τιθεσθαι τῆς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς οὐκουμένης πρὸς μεσημέριον ἐπεὶ οὗ  
 πενταεκαχίλιοι μὲν αἰσιν αὐτὸς ἀπὸ Σιήνης εἰς  
 Μιροῦν, ἄλλοι δὲ προσγεγονάσι τρισχίλιοι, εἰς  
 οὗ αὖ πάντες ἐπὶ τοις ὅροις τῆς οὐκουμένης  
 ἑκαταεκαχίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ γὰρ τὸν ἰσημερινὸν ἀπὸ  
 Σιήνης μυριοὶ ἑκαταεκαχίλιοι ἑκαταεκαχίλιοι  
 γὰρ αἰσιν αὖ τῶν τεττάρων ἐξήκονταδων, το-

<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes divided the circumference of the earth into  
 sixty intervals, each interval being equal to 5°. Hipparchus



θείας ἐπέστη τετραπλευχίαν καὶ διαποσίαν, ὥστε λαῖνοί εἰεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ὄρων τῆς αἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοτέρου ὀτακισχίλου κατὰ κοίαν. ὅπου δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας διαμνησὶ χίλιαι ὀτακισαί. πάλιν δ' αὖτε τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν εὐθείᾳ τῇ ῥύσει τοῦ Νείλου πάντες ομολογοῦσι τοῦ εἶναι Ράον πλοῦν αὐτεῖδεν δὲ τοῦ τῆς Κερίας παραπλοῦν καὶ Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ Πικαντίου καὶ Βορυσθίνου λαβόντες οὖν τὰ διαστήματα γῆραια καὶ πλοῦντα σπέρνεις, τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βορυσθίνου δὲ εὐθείας ταύτης τῇ τρομῇ μέχρι τινος σημεῖου ἐστίν, καὶ παρα-  
 -οῦται<sup>1</sup> τὰ προσηρμένα μέρη τῆς αἰκουμένης αὐτοῖσι δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βορυσθίνου ἑστατοὶ τῶν γῆραιων Σκυθῶν Ῥαξολαοὶ. νοτίω-  
 -τεροι δὲ τῆς Βρεττανίας ἐσχυρῶν γῆραιων ἡδὴ ἐκ ταπεινότητος δὲ φ' ἔχει νοτιώτα ἐστίν, νοτίω-  
 -τεροι δὲ ταύτης καὶ αἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαιωτίδος Σαυρο-  
 -μαῖαι καὶ Σκυθαὶ μέγας τῶν ἐφ' ὧν Σκυθῶν

§ Ο μὲν οὖν Μασσαλιωτῆς Πυθέας τὰ πρὸς Θούλην τῆς βορείωτατης τῶν βρεττανίδων ὑπερ-  
 -λαγῆ, παρ' οἷς αὖτε ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρκτικής οἱ θεμενοὶ  
 -τροπικῆς πικλὸς παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν  
 -ιστορῶ, οἷός ἐστι Θούλη νῆσος ἐστὶ τι, οὗτ' αἱ τὰ  
 -μέχρι δεῦρο αἰσθητὰ ἐστίν, ὅπου οἱ θεμενοὶ

<sup>1</sup> περναῖται, Madvig. ἴσθ. νοτιώτα.

<sup>1</sup> That is at Thule the variable Arctic circle has the fixed value of the outer tropic. Hence, according to P., since the latitude of Thule would be the complement of that of

## GEOGRAPHY, 1978

[illegible]

A New History of China is a book that I think is the most complete of its kind. It is a book that is not only a history of China but also a history of the world. It is a book that is not only a history of China but also a history of the world. It is a book that is not only a history of China but also a history of the world.

The territories were divided into 100,000 square miles and the land was divided into 100,000 square miles and there was a great deal of land.









## BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1-10

[illegible]





## STAND

[illegible]

1. Source was to be used. Under  
the following name appears





please surface that it will not be a matter of  
probability more than a matter of time. It is  
certainly a matter of time. There is no way to  
to make sure that the country is not  
when the country is not a state, to the  
peace and order and the state, to the  
peace and order and the state, to the  
peace and order and the state, to the

[illegible]

That is in view of the fact that no attempt is made to estimate the return. <sup>2</sup> I assume



μεγάλων σχημάτων τὰ μέρη μὲν αἰσθησις ὁρᾷ, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐκ τῶν ὁραθέντων ἢ διανοία συντίθεται. οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ φιλομαθεῖς ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ αἰσθητηρίοις πιστεύσαντες τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν καὶ πλανηθείσιν οὐκ ἔτυχε τόπους, ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς γῆς, συντιθέασιν εἰς ἓν διάγραμμα τὴν τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης ὕψιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα μὲν αὐτοὶ κράττουσιν, οὐ πανταχοῦ δὲ πύρρουν, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστα κατορθοῦσι δι' ἑτέρων, ἀγγέλοις πιστεύοντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν διαπέμποντες αἰκείως τὰ προστάγματα. ὁ δ' ἀξίων μόνους εἶδέναι τοὺς ἰδόντας ἀναιρεῖ τὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς κριτήριον, ἥτις πρὸς ἐπιστήμην οφθαλμοῦ πολὺ κρείττων ἐστί.

C 118 12. Μάλιστα δ' οἱ νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχουσιν ἢ τι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ Βρεττανούς καὶ Γερμανούς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τοῖς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τοῖς ἐκτός, Γέτας τε καὶ Τυρεγέτας καὶ Βαστάρνας. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Καυκασόν, οἷον Ἀλβανούς καὶ Ἰβηρας. ἀπήγγελλται δ' ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Παρθικὰ συγγραψάντων, τῶν περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀρτεμυτηνόν, ἃ πολλῶν ἐκεῖνοι μᾶλλον ἀφωρισαν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑρκανίαν καὶ τὴν Βακτριανήν. τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐδαιμονα Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλόντων μετὰ στρατιᾷς νεωστί, ἥς ἡγήετο ἀνὴρ φίλος ἡμῖν καὶ ἑταῖρος Αἴλιος Γύλλος, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐμπορῶν στό-



λοις<sup>1</sup> ἤδη πλεόντως διὰ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδίας. ὁ πολὺ μᾶλλον καὶ ταῦτα ἔγνωσται τοῖς νῦν ἢ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ὅτε τοῖς Γάλλοις ἐπέσχε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, συνεντες αὐτῷ καὶ συνεπαβαίντες μέχρι Σιηνῆ καὶ τῶν Λιβυτικῶν ὅρων ιστοροῦμεν ὅτι καὶ ἑκατὸς καὶ εἴσασι κῆρι πλείους ἐκ Μυσι ὁρμῶν πρὸς τῆς Ἰνδίας προτέρων ἐστὶ τῶν Πτολεμαϊκῶν βασιλέων ἀλλήλων παντόπασι θαρροῦντων πλείω καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν ἐμπαρευέσθαι φορτὸν

13 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην καὶ πρὸς τὰς χρῆσαι τὰς πολιτικὰς ταῦτα, σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ὅτ' ἀπλουστάτα ἐγκρίσειν το πῖπτον εἰς τοῦ γεωγραφικοῦ πίνακος, συμπαραδηλοῦντα καὶ τὸ ποῖον τι καὶ πόσων μέρει τῆς ἑλκῆς γῆς ἐστὶ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν τῷ γεωγραφῷ. τὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ ἑλκῆς ἀκριβολεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ σπονδύλου πάντος ἥ ἐλεγεμεν<sup>2</sup> ζήτησις ἄλλῃς τινος ἐπιστήμης ἐστίν, αἷον εἰ περιρριπείται καὶ κατὰ δεύτερον τεταρτη μέροςον ὁ σπονδύλος καὶ γὰρ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, εὐχὴ ὑπὸ ταύτων γε αἰετῆται τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην ἄλλην οἰκουμένην θέτεον, ὅπου ἐστὶ πιθανόν. φημι δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ταυτῇ<sup>3</sup> λακτῶν.

14 Ἐστὶ δὲ τι χλαμυδαεὶδες σχῆμα τῆς γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης, αὐτὸ μὲν πλάτος υπογράφει το

<sup>1</sup> οὐλίαι. Τυγνὴ ἢ ἰσο οὐλίαι, αἰτίαι following

<sup>2</sup> ἔ, καὶ το οὐλίαι. Ραίαι δαίαι αἰ, οἰτίαι following

<sup>3</sup> οἰτίαι. Οἰτίαι. ἰσο οἰτίαι

<sup>4</sup> οἰτίαι. Τυγνὴ ἢ ἰσο οἰτίαι, οἰτίαι following

of Alexandria are already sailing with fleets by way of the Nile and of the Atlantic Sea<sup>1</sup> as far as India. These regions also have become far better known to us of to-day than to our predecessors. At any rate when the great king of Egypt, I believe, visited him and sailed of the Nile as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia and I learned that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Meroë to India whereas formerly under the Pharaohs, only a very few ventured to undertake the voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandise.

13 Now my first and chief intention between both for the purposes of science and for the needs of the state is this—to try to give in the simplest possible way the shape and size of that part of the earth which falls within our grasp and to give at the same time what the nature of that part is and what parts it is of the whole earth. For this is the task proper of the geographer. But to give an accurate account of the whole earth and of the whole spanning whole of the mass of which I was speaking is the function of another science—for instance, take the question what is the topography which is inhabited in order for it to be habitable? And need it be inhabited? It is not inhabited by men as it exists in our fourth and we should have to regard it as another uninhabited world which is a plausible theory. It is more, however, to describe what is in this our own inhabited world.

14 As I have said the shape of the inhabited world is somewhat like a chess-board whose greatest breadth is represented by the line that runs through

<sup>1</sup> See I. B. 2.

ροισίτων ἡ δὲ τοῦ Νεῖλου γραμμὴ λαβοῦσα τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ τῆς Κιναμμοφοροῦ παρὰ  
 Ἀλλαν καὶ τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὰς φυγαδίας ση-  
 σοὶ μέχρι τοῦ διὰ τῆς Ιερῆς παραλλήλου, το-  
 δὲ μέρος ἡ ταύτη πρὸς ὅσας ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερῆς  
 διὰ Σιήλων καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους μέχρι  
 τῆς Ρυδίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰου τοῦ καλοῦ παρὰ τοῦ  
 Ταύρου ἰουσα τοῦ διὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ  
 κατασταφόντα ἐστὶ τὸ μέρος θαλάττης μεταξὺ  
 Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πακταμένης Σαυθῶν  
 διὲ δὲ καὶ εἶναι παραλληλογραμμὸν τι, ἐν ᾧ τὸ  
 χλωμίδοειδές σχῆμα ἐκτετατότατον οἷον ὥστε  
 τὸ μέρος τὸ μῆκος ὁμοιωθεῖν καὶ ἴσον εἶναι τῷ  
 πλάτει, καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῷ πλάτει, τὸ μὲν δὲ  
 χλωμίδοειδές σχῆμα οἰομένην ὅτι τὸ διὰ πλά-  
 τος αὐξιοῦναι ὅσῳ αὐτῇ ταῖς ἀρχαῖαι πε-  
 ραλλήλοις πλευραὶ ταῖς διορίζουσιν τὸ ἀκρ-  
 σισμὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀκρῆτον εἰς ἑκάτερα αὐτῇ  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὅσας ἀρχαῖαι μὲν ἡ διὰ τῆς Ιερῆς πρὸς  
 διὰ τῆς διακεκαμμένης ἡ διὰ τῆς Κιναμμοφοροῦ  
 αὐτῇ ἐκ προσεπαλλόμεναι εἶναι τὰς ἀνωτάτας  
 καὶ εἶναι τὰς ἑσχατὰς μέχρι τῶν ἀνωτάτων μέρων  
 τῆς οἰκουμένης πελάγους, τι παραλληλογραμμὸν  
 πρὸς τὰς ἐπιζευγνυμένας διὰ τῶν ἀκρῶν αὐτῆς  
 ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῦτ' ὅτι ἡ οἰκουμένη φανερὸν  
 ἐκ τοῦ μὲν τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς τὸ μέγιστον εἶναι  
 πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν τὸ μέκος ἐστὶ δ' αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> The text for the whistling of Inca Pumaquich is in the second century B.C. and that for an wood of the Nile, north



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1. The Government of the United States of America, hereinafter referred to as the "Government,"

1. Report on the work of the Committee for the year 1964.





καίοντι σταδίους φησὶν ἰδεῖν ἀστέρα. ἔν τε καί-  
 ρεσθαι τὸν Κανωβὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦ<sup>1</sup> μικροῦ  
 δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας προσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημέριαν  
 ἐμολογείν αφορᾶν αὐτὸς καὶ δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς  
 ἐν ἡμετέρῃ τῆς γὰρ Εὐδόξου σκοπεῖν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ  
 αἰήσεως ὑψηλότερας εἶναι, λεγέσθαι δ' ὅτι ἐντεῦ-  
 θεν ἰαυνοὺς ἀφ' ὧν τὸς Κανωβὸν ἀστέρα, εἶναι  
 δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥωδιακοῦ πλάματος τὴν Κινύδου, ἐφ'  
 οὗ καὶ τὰ Γαλινα καὶ ἡ ταυτὴ παραλία

15 Ἐν-αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ νοτιὰ μέρη πλε-  
 οῦσα ἡ Λιβυὴ καίται· ταύτης δὲ τὰ ἐνδομικτώτα  
 μικρὰ τῶν Γαλινα προκείται μᾶλλον, εἰς ἄρως  
 ποιήσαντα στενὴν ἀναχωρεῖ πρὸς ἄν καὶ νοτον,  
 καὶ πλεονεῖται κατ' ὀλίγον, ὥς τε ἄν τοῖς ἑσπε-  
 ριαῖς Ἀφροῖσι συναφῇ. αὐταὶ δ' ὑπεκείνται τῶν  
 περὶ Καρχηδόνα τόπων ὑστάτοι, συναπτόμεναι τῇ  
 διὰ τῆς Κυνταμομοθίου γραμμῇ. αἱ δὲ τάναντι  
 πλοῦσι καὶ τοῦ ἱερῷ ἀκρωτηρίου μέχρι τῶν  
 Ἀρταχίων καλουμένων ὁ πλοῖα ἔστι πρὸς ἄρως,  
 ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχουσι τὴν Ἰνσιταπην· εἰτ' ὁ λαὸς  
 πρὸς ἄν πᾶς ἀμυθλαίων γυναικας τοῦν μέχρι τῶν  
 τῆς Πυρήνης ἄρως τῶν τελευταίων εἰς τὸν  
 ἄκρον τοῦτον δὲ τὰ κατὰ τῆς Βρετανικῆς  
 ἀντικείνται πρὸς ἄρως, ὅμοιοι δὲ καὶ ταις  
 Ἀρταχίοις ἀντικείμεναι πρὸς ἄρως αἱ Κατι-  
 ταίαι καλουμέναι νῆσοι πελαγίαι κατὰ τὸ  
 Βρετανικόν ποτ' πλάμα ἰδρυμέναι ὥστε ἐγγύς  
 ἐφ' ἧσαν συναφῇται τὰ ἄρως τῆς αἰουμένης κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ τοιοῦ, Casaub., lat. tantum το, Orschoff, following.

## GEOGRAPHY, a 9. 14-15

he saw a star which he judged to be Canopus itself as judging from the fact that those who had proceeded but a short distance south of Iberia were in agreement that they saw Canopus, and also from scientific observations made at Cnidus for says he, the observatory of Eudoxus at Cnidus is not much higher than the dwelling houses, and from there, it is said Eudoxus saw the star Canopus and, adds Posidonius Cnidus lies on the parallel of Rhodes on which lie both Gades and the coastline thereabouts.

15 Now as you sail to the regions of the south you come to Iulia, of this country the westernmost coast extends on y slightly beyond Gades then the coast, forming a narrow promontory, recedes towards the southeast and gradually broadens out to the point where it reaches the land of the Western Ethiopians. They are the most remote people south of the territory of Carthage, and they reach the parallel that runs through the Cinnamon-producing Country. But if you sail in the opposite direction from the Sacred Cape until you come to the people called Artabians, your voyage is northward, and you have Lusitania on your right hand. Then all the rest of your voyage is eastward, thus making an obtuse angle to your former course until you reach the headlands of the Pyrenees that abut on the ocean. The westerly parts of Britain lie opposite these headlands towards the north, and in like manner the islands called Cassiterides,<sup>1</sup> situated in the open sea approximately in the latitude of Britain, lie opposite to and north of, the Artabians. Therefore it is clear how greatly the east and west ends of

<sup>1</sup> "Tin Islands", now Shet.

μήκος ὑπὸ τοῦ περιεχυμένου πελάγους εἰς στενόν.

16. Τοιοῦται δὲ ὅτος τοῦ καθόλου σχήματος, χρήσιμον φαίνεται δύο λαβεῖν εὐθείας, αἱ τέμνουσαι πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἀλλήλας, ἡ μὲν διὰ τοῦ μήκους ἕξει τοῦ μεγίστου παντός ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πλάτους, καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν παραλλήλων ἔσται μία, ἡ δὲ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν· ἔπειτα ταύταις παραλλήλους ἐπισοῦντας ἐφ' ἑκατέρα διαιρεῖν κατὰ ταύτας τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ᾗ χρώμενοι τυγχάνομεν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα μᾶλλον ἂν καταφανες γένοιτο, ὁποῖον εἰρήκαμεν, κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γραμμῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα μέτρα ἔχουσῶν, τῶν τε τοῦ μήκους καὶ τοῦ πλάτους, καὶ τὰ κλίματα ἀποδηλωθῆσεται βέλτιον, τὰ τε ἐσθινὰ καὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια, ὥς δ' αὐτὰς τὰ νότια καὶ τὰ βορρεια. ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ γνωρίμων τόπων λαμβανέσθαι δεῖ τὰς εὐθείας ταύτας, αἱ μὲν ἐλήφθησαν ἤδη, λέγω δὲ τὰς μεσας δύο, τῆς τε τοῦ μήκους καὶ τοῦ πλάτους, τὰς λεχθείσας πρότερον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι βραδύως γνωρίζονται ἂν διὰ τούτων· τρόπον γάρ τινα στοιχείοις χρωμενοι τούτοις τὰ παραλλήλα μέρη συνεχόμεθα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σχέσεις τῶν οἰκιστῶν τὰς τ' ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ οὐρανια.

17. Πλείστον δ' ἡ θάλαττα γεωγραφεῖ καὶ σχηματίζει τὴν γῆν, κόλπους ἀνεργαζομένη καὶ

the inhabited world have been narrowed down by the surrounding sea.

14. Such being the general shape of the inhabited world, it is easy to fix, assuming two straight lines, latitudes, each other at right angles, and which will run through the entire greatest length and breadth through the entire greatest length of the inhabited world, and the first we will be one of the parallels and the second, but one of the meridians. Then it will be proper to conceive of lines parallel to them ten lines on either side of them and in them to divide the same and the sea with which we happen to be concerned. But taken by the shape of the inhabited world we perceive more reason to use such as I have described, in being guided by the extent of the land, which lines are of different measurements, both those of the length and those of the breadth, and therefore the same will be better represented, as in the east and in the west and likewise in the south and in the north. But since these straight lines must be drawn through known places, two of them have already been so drawn, I mean the two great lines mentioned above, the one representing the length and the other the breadth, and the other lines will be easily found by the help of horology. For by using these lines as "elements," as to speak we may call them the regions that are parallel and the other quadrants both geographical and astronomical of the inhabited world.

1. It is the sea more than anything else that defines the contours of the land and gives it its

<sup>1</sup> Or, as we would say, "area of coordinates." (This has been a useful working device in our system of coordinates in analytical geometry.)

πελάγη καὶ πορθμοίς, ὁμοίως δὲ ἰσθμοῖς καὶ χειρ-  
 ρονήσους καὶ ἄκρας· προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ ταύτη  
 καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄρη. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων  
 ἡπειροὶ τε καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις εὐφυεῖς  
 ἐνενοήθησαν καὶ τὰλλα ποικίλματα, ὅσων μεστος  
 ἐστὶν ὁ χωρογραφικὸς πίναξ. ἐν δὲ ταυτοῖς καὶ το  
 τῶν ἡνσων πλῆθος ἐστὶ κατεσπαρμένον ἐν τε τοῖς  
 πελάγεσι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν πᾶσαν. ἄλλων  
 δ' ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τε καὶ κακίας καὶ τὰς ἀπ'  
 C 121 αὐτῶν χρεῖας ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ἢ δυσχρηστίας,  
 τὰς μὲν φύσει, τὰς δὲ ἐκ κατασκευῆς, τὰς φύσει  
 δεῖ λέγειν διαμένουσι γύρ, αἱ δ' ἐπίβητοι δέχονται  
 μεταβολάς. καὶ τούτων δὲ τὰς πλείους χρόνον συμ-  
 μερικὴν δυναμένης ἐμφανιστέον, ἥ<sup>1</sup> μὴ πολλὴ μὲν,  
 ἄλλας δ' ἐπιφανείαν μὲν ἔχούσας τινὰ καὶ δοξάζειν,  
 ἢ πρὸς τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον παραμένουσα τροπὴν  
 τινὰ συμφυῇ τοῖς τόποις ποιεῖ καὶ μηκέτι οὖσαν  
 κατασκευὴν ὥστε δῆλον εἶναι καὶ τούτων  
 μεμνησθαι. περὶ πολλῶν γὰρ ἔστι πόλεις τοῦτ'  
 εἶπεν, ὅπερ εἶπε Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ  
 Ὀλυμπίου, ὅς αὐτῶς ἠφανίσθαι φησὶν, ὥστε μηδ'  
 εἰ παντοῦ φέκηθησαν γινώσκειν ἂν τινεὶ ἐπελθόντα.  
 ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ αἰς τούτους τοὺς τόπους καὶ εἰς ἄλ-  
 λους ἀφικνούνται ἄσμενοι, τὰ γ' ἵχνη ποθοῦντες  
 ἰδεῖν τῶν οὕτως διανομασμένων ἔργων, καθυπερ καὶ  
 τους τάφους τῶν ἐνδοξῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ νο-

<sup>1</sup> V, Corais insertis, ἀπὸ ἄλλων; generally followed.

<sup>2</sup> q, Corais insertis, Grunke, Kramer, Forbiger, following.

shape, by forming gulf deep water straits, and like some other rivers, peninsulas, and promontories, but both the rivers and the mountains about the coast he is in. It is through such natural features that we gain a clear view of the numerous islands forming a continuous chain, and all the other diversified details with which our geographical map is filled. And among these details are to be seen a number of islands scattered all in the open sea and among the main archipelago. And some of these places exhibit different good and bad attributes, as also the advantages and disadvantages that result therefrom, some due to nature and others resulting from human touch; the geographer should mention those that are due to nature, for they are permanent, whereas the advantages and disadvantages are fugacious. And also of the various attributes we should mention such as the present fertility of a long time or vice versa, such as not so fertile for long and yet at present possess a certain disposition and favor which by continuing to alter, loses, makes a wilderness of man even when it is no longer such, a kind of natural history of a place. And it is clear that these natural attributes must also be mentioned. Indeed, it is possible to say concerning many cities that some authors said of Cyrene and the cities round about it, 'whenever we reach this disappointed we are, that a visitor could not know even whether they had ever been founded. But nevertheless men like to visit these places as well as others, because they are eager to see at least the traces of deeds as well as famous, just as they like to visit the tombs of illustrious men. So, also, I have mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Philoponus 3. 117

<sup>2</sup> Mousaia, Apollonia, and thirty two other cities

μικροὺς οὐκ ἐπιλείπειν καὶ μνησθῆναι τῶν ἀποστῆναι ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ προσηλυτισμένοι τῶν αὐτῶν τρυφῶν ὅντων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλοῖσι καὶ γὰρ ἱπποὶ χαρῶν ἢ ἀποσπῶνται τοῖς ναυτοῖς.

18. Ἰσχυροὶ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς ἀκροτάτας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐκτετυγμένον ὄντι ἢ καὶ ἑκὼς ἀποκαταμένον γῆν τε, ὡς αἰὶναι εἴπω, ἔχουσιν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ ἀκροτάτοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσθμίου θαλάσσης ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν πελοπόννησον πελάγεσιν ὡς ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ. ὡς οὖν μετὰ βορείῳ Κασπία καλεῖται θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Τρανσκαυκασίᾳ, οὗ ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ καὶ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς πελοπόννησος ἀναχέονται θαλάσσης, ὃ μετὰ τῇ Κασπίᾳ καλεῖται, καὶ ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ τῶν δὲ τρυφῶν ὅσους πάλι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναχέειν ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσθου ἢ ἐπὶ καὶ καὶ ἑκὼς ἀναχέουσι θαλάσσης ἐκτετυγμένον. τὸν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρης λαμβάνουσα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείου στήλης ποταμὸς μετακείμενος ἔχει τοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐν ἑλλήσιν καὶ ἀλλήλ' ὡς αὐτὸς μετὰ δὲ ταῖς ἐσχίσταις καὶ τελευτῶσαι ἐν ἑνὶ ποταμῷ τελευτῶσαι, τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ὅσους ἐκτετυγμένον πρὸς ἀναχέουσι τοῖς ἑσπέρῳ τοῦ μετακείμενου δὲ τοῦ ἀναχέοντος τελευτῶσαι καὶ τοῦ Παμφίλου καὶ τοῖς Ἰσχυροῖς ἀναχέει δὲ οὐ λαμβάνει τελευτῶσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσθμίου θαλάσσης στήλης ἔχουσι τοῖς ἐσπέρῳ. πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ τοὺς ἀναχέοντες καὶ οὐ κατὰ Στράβου ὅντων δὲ αἱ λαοὶ καὶ ἡ περὶ ἀκροτάτην αὐτοῦ γῆν τριχῇ ἐκτετυγμένη, καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται ἢ μετὰ οἷς ἐκτετυγμένον ποταμῶν ποταμῶν, ἢ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τρυφῶν ποταμῶν, ἢ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ μέσθου πρὸς ἀκροτάτην ἔχει

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἑλλήσιν. Οὐκ αὖτις ἀναχέονται οὐκ αὖτις ἐκτετυγμένον.

customs and constitutions that no longer exist, for the reason that utility urges me in their case just as it does in the case of deeds of action—that is, either to incite emulation or else avoidance of this or that.

19. I now resume my first sketch of the inhabited world and say that our inhabited world, being girt by the sea, admits into itself from the exterior sea along the ocean many gulfs, of which four are very large. Of these four gulfs the northern one is called the Caspian Sea (though some call it the Hyrcanian Sea), the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Gulf pour in and from the Southern Sea, the one about opposite the Caspian Sea and the other about opposite the Portus and the fourth which far exceeds the others in size, is formed by the sea which is called the Interior Sea, or Our Sea, it takes its beginning in the west at the strait at the Pillars of Heracles, and extends lengthwise towards the regions of the east, but with varying breadth, and finally divides itself and ends in two sea-like gulfs, the one on the left hand, which we call the Euxine Pontus, and the other consisting of the Egyptian, the Pamphilian, and the Lycian Seas. All these aforesaid gulfs have narrow inlets from the Exterior Sea, particularly the Arabian Gulf and that at the Pillars, whereas the others are not so narrow. The land that surrounds these gulfs is divided into three parts, as I have said. Now Europe has the most irregular shape of all three, Libya has the most regular shape, while Asia occupies a sort of middle



C 122 τὴν διάθεσιν· ἀπασαι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐντὸς παρα-  
 λίας ἔχουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τε πολυσχήμονος καὶ  
 τοῦ μή, ἥ δ' ἐκτὸς πλὴν τῶν λεχθέντων κόλπων  
 ἀπλῇ καὶ χλαμυδοειδῆς ἐστίν, ὥς εἶπον, τὰς δ'  
 ἄλλας ἐν μικρῇ διαφορᾷ ἑατέον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν  
 τοῖς μεγάλοις τὸ μικρόν. ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 γεωγραφικὴν ἱστορίαν οὐ σχήματα μόνον ζητοῦμεν  
 καὶ μεγέθη τόπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχέσεις πρὸς ἄλληλα  
 αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ ποικίλον ἢ  
 ἐντὸς παραλία παρέχεται μᾶλλον ἢ ἢ ἐκτὸς. πολὺν  
 δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ γινώριμον καὶ τὸ εὐκρατον καὶ τὸ  
 πόλεσι καὶ ἔθνεσιν εὐνομούμενοις συνοικούμενον  
 μᾶλλον ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐκεῖ. ποθοῦμέν τε εἰδέναι  
 ταῦτα, ἐν οἷς πλείους παραδίδονται πράξεις καὶ  
 πολιτεῖαι καὶ τέχναι καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα εἰς φρόνησιν  
 συνεργεῖ, αἱ τε χρεῖαι συνάγουσιν ἡμᾶς πρὸς  
 ἐκεῖνα, ὧν ἐν ἐφικτῷ αἱ ἐπιπλοκαὶ καὶ κοινωναί  
 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα οἰκεῖται, μᾶλλον δ' οἰκεῖται  
 καλῶς. πρὸς ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥς ἔφην, ἢ  
 παρ' ἡμῶν θάλαττα πλεονέκτημα ἔχει μέγα καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ ἐνθεν ἀρκτέον τῆς περιγηγῆσεως.

19 Εἴρηται δὲ ὅτι ἀρχὴ τοῦδε τοῦ κόλπου  
 ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας πορθμός· τὸ δὲ στενό-  
 τaton τούτου περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίους λέγεται  
 παραπλεύσαντι δὲ τὸν στενωπὸν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴ-  
 κοσι σταδίων ὄντα διάστασιν λαμβάνουσιν αἱ  
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position between the other two in this respect. And the cause of their irregularity or their lack of it lies in the course of the interior sea, whereas the coastline of the Exterior Sea with the exception of that of the all round gulf is regular and, as I have said, like a compass, but I must leave out of view the other slight irregularities for a little thing is nothing when we are dealing with great things. And further since in the study of geography we inquire not merely about the shapes and dimensions of countries, but also, as I have said into their position with reference to each other here in two, the coastline of the Interior Sea offers for our consideration more varied details than that of the Exterior Sea. And far greater in extent here than there is the known portion and the temperate portion, and the portion inhabited by us, governed cities and nations. Again we wish to know about those parts of the world where tradition places more deeds of action, political constitutions, arts and everything else that contributes to practical wisdom, and our needs draw us to these parts with much commercial and social interest as is attainable, and these are the places that are under government or rather under good government. Now as I have said our Interior Sea has a great advantage in all these respects, and so with it I must begin my description.

19 I have already stated that the strait at the Pillars forms the beginning to this gulf, and the narrowest part of the strait is said to be about seventy stadia, but after you sail through the narrows, which are one hundred and twenty stadia in length, the coasts take a divergent course all at

ἴσμεν ἄλλωθεν, ἡ δ' ἐν ἀριστοτέρῳ πολλοὺς εἶ-  
 νους ἀναίειν φαίνεται πελῶντες· ὅς τις δ'  
 δεῖται τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ φασίεναι τὴν ἑσπέρην παραλίαν  
 μέχρι Κάρυον· δεῖ δὲ θαλάσσης τῆς τοῦ Ἰσθ-  
 μοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡλίου, καὶ τὰς ἑσπέρην καὶ Μαι-  
 ον· καὶ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν Ἀργυρεάν· τελευτῶν  
 δὲ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς μέχρι τοῦ Σιπυλίου· ποταμοῦ  
 τοῦ δ' ἔστιν οὗτος πελάγης· ὅθεν καὶ Σιπυλία ὀνο-  
 μάσκει· οἱ ἐσπεριῶδες αὐτὴν ποταμὸν ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῇ  
 Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπ' ἀστυνείᾳ· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τῇ Κερκυραίωνι  
 ἄλυσιν καὶ πεντακοντίῳ σταδίων· ὁ δ' ὅτι τοῦ  
 Σιπυλίου ἐστὶ τὸ ἑσπεριῶδες γράμμα· μῆκος μὲν  
 ὅστις τῆς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γαιρῶνος μέσσης δὲ πρὸς  
 ταῦτα τὸ λεγόμενον πελάγος· ἀπὸ τῆς δὲ σταδίων  
 μῆκον καὶ ἑκατάλυσιν· τούτου μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ μέσον  
 τοῦ πελάγους· ὁ ἄλλος δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρης περὶ  
 αὐτῇ καὶ σταδίων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς  
 βοιωτῆς· Μαιονείας καὶ Νηλεῶνος ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπὸ  
 αὐτῶν Ἀργυρῆν· ἀπὸ τῆς δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Λιβύᾳ  
 πρὸς τὴν μετὰ τῇ θαλάσσης τούτης ἑσπέρης πελά-  
 γος, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀπ' ἀστυνείας τῆς τοῦ μὲν  
 Ἰσθμοῦ τὸ δὲ Λιπυρῆας τὸ δὲ Σιπυλίου·  
 τοῦτο αὖτε δὲ μέχρι τῆς Σιπυλίας τὸ Ἰταλικὸν  
 ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος τοῦ μὲν τῇ πελάγει τῇ ἐστὶ τὸ  
 Ἰταλικὸν πελάγος μέχρι τῆς Λιπυρῆας· συχνοὶ  
 μεταξὺ δὲ Σιπυλίου καὶ Κέρυρας μετὰ τῇ τῇ  
 Σιπυλίας αὐτῆς δὲ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐν τῇ μεσητείᾳ  
 τῇ καὶ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ, πολλοὶ δὲ τούτων

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1. τοῦ Κέρυρας ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Σιπυλίου, Μαιονείας  
 καὶ τῆς Νηλεῶνος.

2. ἡ δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Σιπυλίου, Μαιονείας καὶ τῆς  
 Νηλεῶνος.

once, though the one on the left diverges more, and then the gulf assumes the aspect of a great sea. It is bounded on the right side by the coastline of Libya as far as Carthage, and on the other side, first, by Iberia and also by Celtica in the regions of Narbo and Massilia, and next by Liguria, and finally by Italy as far as the Strait of Sicily. The eastern side of this sea is formed by Sicily and the straits on either side of Sicily, the one between Italy and Sicily is seven stadia in width and the one between Sicily and Carthage is fifteen hundred stadia. But the line from the Pillars to the seven-stadia strait is a part of the line to Rhodes and the Taurus Range, it cuts the aforesaid sea approximately in the middle, and it is said to be twelve thousand stadia in length. This, then, is the length of the sea, while its greatest breadth is as much as five thousand stadia, the distance from the Galatic Gulf between Massilia and Narbo to the opposite coast of Libya. The entire portion of this sea along the coast of Libya they call the Libyan Sea, and the portion that lies along the opposite coast they call, in order, the Iberian Sea, the Ligurian Sea, the Sardinian Sea, and finally, to Sicily, the Tyrrhenian Sea. There are numerous islands along the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea as far as Liguria, and largest of all are Sardinia and Corsica, except Sicily, but Sicily is the largest and best of all the islands in our part of the world.

λειτουργίας πολέμους μὲν Παρθάροις<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ  
Πούτοις προσήτοις δὲ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ Περσικὴ  
καὶ Πιθινοῦσσα καὶ Πυγυ-η καὶ Ἰαν-ια καὶ  
Λευκωσία καὶ ἄλλαι τοιαύται ἐπὶ εὐτεραὶ δὲ  
τῆς Λιγυστικῆς αἰ πρὸ τῆς λυγυτικῆς γαλίας μέχρι  
Ἰνγλων οὐ πολλὰ. οὐ σισω αἱ τε Γυμνησιαί<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ Ἐγυσοί οἱ πολλοὶ δ' οὐδ' αἱ<sup>3</sup> πρὸ τῆς  
Ἀθίας καὶ τῆς Σικελίας, ὧν αἱσι Κορσικαὶ τε  
καὶ Ἀντιμυκοναὶ καὶ αἱ Λαπαργίων νῆσοι, δὲ  
Ἀιόλου τινος προσσηγορεύουσι

2) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐκατέρωθεν  
παρῶμεν θάλασσαν πελάγεσιν αὐτῶν τὸ τε πρὸ τῆς  
Σιρτίας καὶ τῆς Κυρηναιῆς καὶ αἰ-αῖ αἱ Σιρτίας  
καὶ τὸ Λιβυτικὸν μὲν πάλαι κιν δὲ καλοῦμενον  
Σικελικόν, συμφύου ἐκείνῃ καὶ σιτηγῇ τὸ μὲν  
οὖν πρὸ τῆς Σιρτίας καὶ τῆς Κυρηναιῆς καλεῖται  
Ἀλβικόν πελάγῃ δ' αἱ τὸ Λιγυστικὸν πελάγος  
τῆς δὲ Σιρτίας ἢ μὲν ἑλαττωσὶς εἶναι δοκῶν χάλιος  
καὶ ἐφεκτικὸν σταίωσιν τὴν περιμέτρον πρὸ  
αὐτῶν, δ' εἰς θάλασσαν τοῦ στοματός νῆσοι Μήκων  
τε καὶ Κίρηναι τῆς δὲ μετὰ τὴν Σιρτίαν φασὶν  
Ἐρα-στρίτης τε αἰ-αίαν εἶναι πεντακισχίλιον  
τὸ τε ἰσχυρὸν χάλιον οὐτακτικὸν εἰς Ἐσπερίων  
αἱ Αἰ-αίαι καὶ τὸ τῆς Κυρηναιῆς μεθόρου  
πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ταιγῇ Αἰ-αίαν ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν  
πεντακτικὸν τετρακισχίλιον σταίωσιν εἶπον, τὸ δὲ  
βαθεὶς χάλιον πεντακισχίλιον δοκῶν καὶ τὸ πλεονέ-  
τοι στομάτος τὸ δὲ Σικελικὸν πελάγος πρὸ τῆς  
Σικελίας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Ἰ-αλίας ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Παρθαρία, Σιθροκ, ἴτε Παρθάρια.

<sup>2</sup> αἱ τε Γυμνησιαὶ καὶ τῆς Ἰανίας καὶ τῆς Γυμνησίας.

<sup>3</sup> αἱ δ' αἱ (αἰαίαι) καὶ αἱ δὲ Μυκοναὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ.

Far behind these in size are Pandateria and Pontia, which is in the open sea, and lying near the land, Aethalia, Plausa, Pircuma, Ercyna, Capree, Leucosa, and others like them. But on the other side of the Iugurra Sea the islands off the rest of the coast up to the Peloponnese are not numerous, among which are the Cynnaeae and Euboea, and those off the coasts of Laconia and Sicily are not numerous, either among which are Cosura, Aegimuria, and the Iapagian Islands, which some call the Islands of Agauria.

20 Beyond Sicily and the straits on both sides of it other seas join with the former sea. The first is the sea in front of the Syrtis and Cyrenaea and the two Syrtis themselves, and the second is the sea formerly called the Amsanian Sea, but now the Sicilian Sea, which is confluent with and a continuation of the first sea. Now the sea in front of the Syrtis and Cyrenaea is called the Libyan Sea, and it ends at the Egyptian Sea. Of the Syrtis, the lesser is about one thousand six hundred stadia in circumference, and the islands Melos and Cerynia lie at either side of its mouth. As for the Greater Syrtis, Eratosthenes says that its circuit is five thousand stadia, and its breadth eighteen hundred stadia, reckoning from the Hesperides to Antimaea and to the common boundary between Cyrenaea and the rest of Laconia in that region, but others have estimated its circuit at four thousand stadia, and its breadth at fifteen hundred stadia as much as the breadth of its mouth is. The Sicilian Sea lies in front of Sicily and Italy toward the regions of the



east, and, besides, in front of the strait that lies between them—in front of the territory of Rhegium as far as Locri and of the territory of Messina as far as Syracuse and Pachynum. Toward the regions of the east it stretches on to the head lands of Crete, and its waters also wash round most of the Peloponnesus and fill what is called the Gulf of Corinth. On the north it stretches to the Iapygian Cape and the mouth of the Ionian Gulf and to the southern parts of Epirus as far as the Ambracian Gulf and the coast that adjoins it and, with the Peloponnesus, forms the Corinthian Gulf. But the Ionian Gulf is part of what is now called the Adriatic Sea. The right side of this sea is formed by Illyria, and the left by Italy up to its head at Aquileia. It reaches up towards the north west in a narrow and long course, and its length is about six thousand stadia, while its greatest breadth is two hundred stadia. There are numerous islands in this sea—off the Epirian coast the Apyrtides, and Cyrtica, and the Labrudes, and also Issa, Iragurum, Black Corcyra, and Pharos, and off the Italian coast the Ithomedese. The stretch of the Sicilian Sea from Pachynum to Crete, they say, measures four thousand five hundred stadia, and just as much the stretch to Taenarum in Laconia—and the stretch from the Iapygian Cape to the head of the Gulf of Corinth is less than three thousand stadia, while that from Iapygia to Libya is more than four thousand. The islands of this sea are Corcyra and the Sybota off the coast of Epirus, and next to



Θιαυτοῦ κόλπου Κεφαλληνία καὶ Ἰθάκη καὶ Ζάκυνθος καὶ Εὐρυπύλος

21 Ἰφ δὲ Σπειλαιῶν σιναυτοὶ τὸ Κορινθίων πλάγιον καὶ τὸ Σαρωνικόν καὶ τὸ Μίσσηον ἢ μεταξὺ τῆς Κόρινθου ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀργεῖα καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πλάσιον ἔχον τὸ μέγιστον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὅσον χίλιον καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων, μέγας δ' ἐλαττον ἢ ἑνταλассιον ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ νησοὶ Κισθρία τε καὶ Χαλαίνα καὶ αἱ περὶ Ἀΐγινα καὶ Σαλαμῶνα καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων ταύται· τὰ δὲ σιναυτὰ τὰ Λιγυρίων ἐστίαι ἤδη εἰν τῇ Μίλῳ καὶ τῷ καὶ τῇ Εὐρυπύλῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἰπυρίον καὶ Καστυρὸν ὡς μέχρι τῆς Ρόδου καὶ Κρίστῃ καὶ Καστωρίῳ· αἱ τῶν πρώτων μένουσιν τῆς Ἀσιας ἐν ᾧ αἱ τὸ Κυκλάδες ἔνδοσι καὶ αἱ Σποδαίαι αἱ αἱ πρώται μένουσιν τῆς Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἀιολίδος μέχρι τῆς Τρωάδος ἄνω δὲ καὶ καὶ Σάμου καὶ Λίου καὶ Λέσβου καὶ Τενέδου καὶ δ' αὖτις αἱ πρώται μένουσιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μέχρι τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ Ζαίχον καὶ Περικλῆδος καὶ Ἰνέροι καὶ Θάσος καὶ Ἰμῶνος καὶ Σαμοθράκη καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην διελθούσιν ἐστὶν αἱ τὸ μέγιστον τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης καὶ τὰ πλεονεχίαντες ἢ μικρὰ πλείους τὰ δὲ πλείους περὶ διελθούσιν περιεχεται ἴσως τῶν λεχθέντων μένουσιν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀπὸ Σαίνου μέχρι Θερμαίου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔχουσιν τοὺς πλείους

<sup>1</sup> Καστωρίον, Τενέδον. ἵπ. Καστρίον, Ὀνταλάρ, Portugal, *Itin.* 72.

<sup>2</sup> Τὸ ΜΕΛ. ἵπ. καὶ τὸ δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐν τῇ Κυκλάδῃ. *Itin.* 72. καὶ τὸ δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.

them off the Gulf of Corinth, Cephalonia, Ithaca, Zacynthus, and the Echinades.

3. Adjoining the Sicilian Sea are the Cretan, the Saronic, and the Myrtoan Seas. The Myrtoan Sea is between Crete, Argos<sup>1</sup> and Attica, its greatest breadth measured from Attica is about one thousand two hundred stadia, and its length is less than double its breadth. In this sea are the islands of Cythera, Calauria, Agosia and its neighbouring isles, Salamis, and some of the Cyclades. Now beyond the Myrtoan Sea comes inmediately the Argolic Sea with the Gulf of Messia and the Hellespont, and also the Icarian and Carpathian Seas, extending to Rhodes, Crete, Carpathus, and the East regions of Asia. In the Argolic are the Cyclades,<sup>2</sup> the Sporades, and the islands that lie off Asia, Ionia and Aeolia up to the Troad—I mean Cos, Samos, Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos, so also those that lie off Greece as far as Macedonia and Thrace the next country beyond Macedonia—namely Euboea, Scyros, Peparethos, Lemnos, Thasos, Imbros, Samothrace, and a number of others, concerning which I shall mean in my detailed descriptions. The length of this sea is about four thousand stadia or slightly more, and its breadth is about two thousand stadia. It is surrounded by the aforesaid regions of Asia, and by the coast line from Sinuati to the Thermaic Gulf as you sail towards the north,

<sup>1</sup> Argolis.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo has just said that "some of the Cyclades" belong to the Myrtoan Sea. He does not place many of the Sporades in the Argolic Sea in § 44 and § 45, and others in the Saronic Sea § 46, 47. He now apparently makes the Argolic comprehend all these islands and many others besides. But the text is corrupt.

παραλίας καὶ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν πόλεων μέχρι  
τῆς Θρακίας χερσονήσου.

22 Κατὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὸ ἑπταστάδιον τὸ  
κατὰ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν, δι' οὗ τὸ Αἰγαῖον καὶ ὁ  
Ελλησποντος ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς ἄκρτον εἰς ἄλλο  
πέλαγος, ὃ καλοῦσι Προποντιδα. ἐκείνο εἰς ἄλ-  
λο, τὸν Εἰξείκον προσαγορευόμενον πόντον. ἔστι  
δὲ ἐμβαλῆτος τροπὸν τινὰ οὗτος· κατὰ μέσον γαρ  
πρὸς ἄκρας δυο προπίπτουσιν, ἡ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρω-  
πῆς καὶ τῶν βορείων μερῶν, ἡ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας  
ἐναντία ταύτῃ, συνάγουσαι τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον καὶ  
ποιῶσαι δυο πελάγη μεγάλα· τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς  
Εὐρώπης ἀκρωτηρίου καλεῖται Κρισὺ μέγεθος, τὸ  
C 125 δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Καραμβίς, διαχόντα ἀλλήλων περὶ  
δισχιλίους<sup>1</sup> σταδίων καὶ πεντακοσίους. τὸ μὲν  
οὖν πρὸς ἑσπέραν πέλαγος μήκος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ  
Βυζαντίου μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Βορυσθίνου  
σταδίων τρισχιλίων ὀτακοσίων, πλάτος δὲ δις  
χιλίων ὀτακοσίων<sup>2</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ δ' ἡ Λευκὴ νῆσος  
ἐστὶ τὰ δ' εἶπον ἐστὶ παρυμηκεῖς, εἰς στενὸν  
τελευτῶν μυχὸν τὸν κατὰ Διοσκοουρίδα, ἐπὶ πεν-  
τακισχιλίους ἢ μικρὸν πλείους σταδίων, τὸ δὲ  
πλάτος περὶ τρισχιλίους· ἡ δὲ περιμετρος τοῦ  
συνπαντος πελάγους ἐστὶ δισμυρίων πόν καὶ  
πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων. εἰκαζουσι δὲ τινες τὸ  
σχημα τῆς περιμέτρου ταύτης ἐντεταμένῃ Σκυθικῇ

<sup>1</sup> Q. Müller shows that δισχιλίους must not be changed to  
χιλίους, with most editors.

<sup>2</sup> ὀτακοσίους, Q. Müller proposes to insert, after δισχιλίους,

and by the Macedonian Gulf up to the Thracian Chersonese.

21 Along this Chersonese lies the strait, seven stadia in breadth, between Sestos and Abydos through which the Aegean Sea and the Hellespont empty northwards into another sea which they call the Propontis and the Propontis empties into another sea termed the "Euxine" or Pontus. This latter is a double sea, so to speak, for two promontories jut out at about the middle of it, one from Europe and the other from Asia and the other, opposite to it, from Asia thus contracting the passage between them and forming two large seas. The promontory of Europe is called Lemnæum<sup>1</sup> and that of Asia, Caræus<sup>2</sup> and they are about two thousand five hundred stadia distant from each other. Now the western sea has a length of three thousand eight hundred stadia, reckoning from Bisanthium to the mouth of the Bosphorus and a breadth of two thousand eight hundred stadia. In this sea the island of Lemnæ is situated. The eastern sea is strong and wide in a narrow head at Thraciæ, it has a length of five thousand stadia or a little more, and a breadth of about three thousand stadia. The circumference of the whole sea is approximately twenty five thousand stadia. Some compare the shape of this circumference to that of a bent Scythian bow.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the term "Lemnæ" see 7 § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cape Karæ in Thraciæ.

<sup>3</sup> i. e., a Karæ like in shape a bow.

<sup>4</sup> The Scythian bow consisted of a central bar of elastic wood to which the ends were fixed the curved horns of an horn or goat, the horns long tipped with metal and joined by a bow string of ox hide or sheep hide. At each extremity of the bar with each horn the curvature of the horn was imitated but, at the tip, the horn had a second curvature.

ταξὶν τῶν μὲν περὶ τὴν ἰσομοισίαν τοῖς διξιοῦν  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς μέσσοις μέγεθος· αὐτὸ Πύτυς· αἷμα δ' ἐστὶν ο  
 παρὶτις οὗτος τοῖς σωματοῖς μέγεθος τοῦ μεγάλου  
 τοῦ κατὰ Διοσκουρίδα πλὴν γὰρ τῆς ἡμῶν μέγας  
 ἢ γὰρ ἄλλη παρὰ τὴν μακρὰς ἔχει αἰσθησὶς· τὸ καὶ  
 ἐξοχὰς· ὅσον οἰκίαν οὐκ αἰσθάνεται, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς  
 αἰσθησὶς τοῦ ταξίου ἐκτετακτὸν ἔχοντες τὸν ἐκτετακτὸν  
 τῆς μὲν ἄνω τὸν φερεστέρα, τὸν δὲ κάτω αἰσθησὶς  
 ραὶ ὅταν δὲ κακὰ τὴν σωματὶς εἶναι πολλοὺς  
 εἶναι ὁ ἰσχυρὸς πολὺ θατέρων περιφανεστέροις  
 ἐστίν.

13 Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ἐκτετακτοῦ κόλπου πρὸς  
 ἑκτὸν ἢ ὑπερκατὰ λίαν, τὴν παραμυθίαν ἐκτετακτὸν  
 ἐκτετακτὸν σωματὶς ἢ καὶ μακρὰ πλάτος  
 ἐκτετακτὸν δ' αἷμα μὲν καὶ Πύτυς κατὰ τοῦ Κιμ  
 μαρ καὶ καλουμένου Βυστορὸς ὅσον ἐκ κατὰ τοῦ  
 ἡσυχίου καὶ τὸν Προπυθίαν τοῦ γὰρ Βιζαντίας  
 σωματὶς οἷον καλουμένη καὶ Βυστορὸς ὁ τετακ  
 στάς ἐστιν· ἢ δὲ Προπυθίαν χιλίων καὶ πέντε  
 ἑκατὸν ὅσον αἷμα τὸ μέγεθος σωματὶς τοῦ ὅσον τῆς  
 Τρωάδος ἐστὶν τοῦ Βιζαντίας· σωματὶς ὅσον αἷμα  
 καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἐκτετακτὸν δ' ὅσον τὸν Κυζικηνὸν  
 ἡσυχίου ὅσον καὶ τὸν ἐκτετακτὸν σωματὶς.

14 Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον  
 πλάτος ἐκτετακτὸν καὶ τὸ σωματὶς, πάλιν δ' ὅσον  
 τῆς ἑκτὸς ἢ τοῦ Αἰγύπτιου πλάτος καὶ τὸ σωματὶς  
 τοῦ Παμφιλίου καὶ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ἐκτετακτὸν ὅσον καὶ  
 τῆς Κιμμάδος κατὰ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἐκτετακτὸν μέγεθος καὶ  
 ἐκτετακτὸν χιλίων σωματὶς παρὰ τοῦ Λυκίου καὶ  
 Παμφιλίου καὶ τῆς Κιμμάδος πλάτος πλάτος  
 ἐκτετακτὸν δὲ Συρία τοῦ καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Αἰγύπτου

ἢ ἐκτετακτὸν, ἐκτετακτὸν, ἐκτετακτὸν.

likening the bow string to the regions on what is called the right and side of the Pontus that is, the ship course along the coast from the outlet to the head at Dioscurias for with the exception of the promontory of Taurus the whole shore has but small recesses and projections, so that it is like a straight line and the next they men to the horn of the bow with its double curve, the upper curve being rounded off, while the lower curve is straighter, and thus they say the left coast forms two gulfs, of which the western is much more rounded than the other.

23 North of the eastern gulf lies Lake Maeotis, which has a circumference of nine thousand stadia or even a little more. It empties into the Pontus at what is called the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Pontus empties into the Propontis at the Thracian Bosphorus, for they give the name of Thracian Bosphorus to the outlet at Byzantium which is four stadia.<sup>1</sup> The Propontis is said to be fifteen hundred stadia long reckoning from the Iliad to Byzantium, and its breadth is approximately the same. In the neighbourhood of Coscus and the little islands in its neighbourhood.

24 Such then is the nature and such the size of the arm of the Aegean Sea that extends towards the north. Again the arm that begins at Rhodes and forms the Pergamian, the Pamphylian, and the Lycian Seas, stretches towards the east as far as Iassus in Cilicia for a distance of five thousand stadia along Lycia, Pamphylia and the whole coastline of Cilicia. Thence, Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt enclose the sea

<sup>1</sup> That is, in breadth; but compare T. G. L.



on the north and west as far as Alexandria. And  
 (as we must be both in the Indian and the Pa-  
 cifican Oceans) since it is known on the Egyptian Sea  
 The sea passage from H. to A. is a with  
 the north wind speedier than the south wind,  
 where the contrary passage is slower than the former.  
 Eudæmonides says that the distance is the same as the  
 one passage, whereas in regard to the length of the  
 sea passage some say it is four thousand stadia,  
 others not extending to more than five thousand  
 stadia, not that it is not the same as the one of the  
 passage, but that it has been found to be three  
 thousand seven hundred and fifty stadia. Now the  
 part of the sea is westward to the Nile and the  
 Nile, and the Nile is the right hand side of the Nile  
 Sea, and the Nile is the sea and the sea is the  
 sea as far as the Nile is from a great distance  
 and a great distance is not a great distance, but  
 from the sea of the Nile to the Nile of the Nile  
 is the sea of the Nile of the Nile. For the  
 country within the Nile as far as the Nile and the  
 Nile is the Nile of the Nile of the Nile of the Nile  
 River is all washed by the Nile, or else by the  
 a river mentioned just above as both a part of the  
 Nile. And since we call this passage by  
 the special name of Nile, the same name that is  
 given to the Nile of the Nile.

2. In about the same of the Greater Nile is the  
 most southern part of the Nile of the Nile and  
 east to the Nile of the Nile of the Nile of the Nile  
 of the Nile, the most southern part is the mouth  
 of the Nile of the Nile of the Nile of the Nile  
 to the Nile of the Nile of the Nile of the Nile  
 the mouth of the Nile is the most southern part.



μικρότατον δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας πορθμός. ἐπιβι  
νώτατον δ' ὁ λεχθεὶς μυχὸς κατὰ Διοσκουριάδα.  
Ἐρατοσθένης δ' οὐκ εὖ τὸν Ἰσσικὸν κολπον φησὶν.  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῖ ἴδρυται, ἐφ'  
ὅν περ ἢ τε Ἀμισὸς καὶ Θεμίσκυρα εἰ δὲ βούλει,  
πρόσλαβε καὶ τὴν Σιδήνην μέχρι Φαρνακείας.  
ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἑκ πλουῖς ἐστὶ  
πλείονων ἢ τρισχιλίων που σταδίων εἰς Διοσκου-  
ριάδα, ὥς ἐσται μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέρει περιόδου  
φανερὸν. ἢ μὲν δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλαττα τοιαύτη  
τις.

26. Ὑπογραπτέον δὲ καὶ τὰς περιεχούσας  
αὐτὴν γᾶς, ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν,  
ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ τὴν θύλατταν ὑπογράψαμεν.  
εἰσπλέουσιν τοίνυν τὸν κατὰ Στήλας πορθμὸν  
ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ Διβυη μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Νείλου  
ῥυσσως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἀντιπορθμός ἢ Εὐρώπη  
μέχρι τοῦ Ταναΐδος· τελευτῶσι δ' ἀμφότεραι περὶ  
τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἀρκτέον δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐραπῆς, ὅτι  
πολυσημίον τε καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀνδρῶν εὐφρα-  
στάτη καὶ πολιτείων, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πλείστον  
μεταδιδωκυῖα τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν· ἐπειδὴ σύμ-  
πασα οἰκήσιμός ἐστι πλὴν ὀλίγης τῆς διὰ ψυχῆς  
δοικῆτος. αὕτη δ' ὁμορεῖ τοῖς Ἀμαξοίοις τοῖς  
περὶ τὸν Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν καὶ τοὺς Βορν-  
σθένι. τῆς δ' οἰκησίμου τὸ μὲν δυσχειμερον καὶ  
τὸ ορεινὸν μοχθηρῶς οἰκεῖται τῇ φύσει, ἐπιμελη-  
τὰς δὲ λαβόντα ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὰ φαύλως οἰκούμενα

the most westerly point is the strait at the Pillars, and the most easterly point is the above mentioned head of the Pontus at Dioscurias, and Festus agrees in saying that at the Indian Gulf is the most easterly for it lies on the same meridian with Amman and Jerusalem. So if you go, or you may sail, in the territory of Solene on to Pharnacia. From these regions the voyage to Dioscurias is, I might say, more than three thousand stadia eastward, as will become clearer when I describe that region in detail. Such, then, is the nature of our Mediterranean Sea.

34 I must also give a general description of the countries that surround this sea, beginning at the same points at which I began to describe the sea itself. Now as you sail into the strait at the Pillars, Libya lies on your right hand as far as the streams of the Nile, and on your left hand across the strait lies Europe as far as the Tanais. And let Europe and Libya end at Asia. But I must begin with Europe, because it is both varied in form and adorned by nature for the development of excellence in men and governments, and also because it has contributed most of its own store of good things to the other continents, for the whole of it is inhabitable with the exception of a small region that is uninhabited on account of the cold. The uninhabited part borders on the country of the Wagon Drivers in the region of the Tanais Lake Maeotis, and the Hyperboreas. Of the inhabitable part of Europe, the cold mountainous regions furnish by nature only a wretched existence to their inhabitants, yet even the regions of poverty and piracy become

<sup>1</sup> Compare II. 2, 17.

C 127 καὶ ληστρικῶς ἡμεροῦνται· καθάπερ αἱ Ἕλληνες, ὄρη καὶ πέτρας κατέχοντες, ῥέουσι καλῶς διὰ πρόνοιαν τὴν περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὴν ἑλληνὴν σύνεσιν τὴν περὶ βίον Ῥωμαῖοί τε πολλὰ ἔθνη παραλαβόντες κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὴν φύσιν ἀνήμερα διὰ τοὺς τοποὺς ἢ τραχεῖς ὄντας ἢ ἀλιμένους ἢ ψυχροὺς ἢ ἀπ' ἑλλης αἰτίας δυσσοικῆτους πολλοὺς τοῖς τε ἀνεπιπλέκτους ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγριωτέρους πολιτικῶς ζῆν ἐδίδαξαν. ὅσον δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἐν ὁμαλῇ καὶ εὐκράτῃ τὴν φύσιν ἔχει συνεργὸν πρὸς ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ εὐδαίμονι χωρᾷ πᾶν ἐστὶν εἰρηνικόν, τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ λυπρῇ μάχιμον καὶ ἀνδρικόν, καὶ δέχεται τινας παρ' ἀλλήλων εὐεργεσίας τὰ γένη ταῦτα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικουρεῖ τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὰ δὲ καρποῖς καὶ τέχναις καὶ ἡθοπομαῖς. φανερά δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐξ ἀλλήλων βλάβαι, μὴ ἐπικουρούμενων· ἔχει δέ τι πλεονέκτημα ἢ βία τῶν τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πλήθει κρατοῖτο· ὑπάρχει δὲ τι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα εὐφύνης τῇ ἡπείρῃ ταύτῃ· ὅλη γὰρ διαπεποικίλται πεδίοις τε καὶ ὄρεσιν, ὥστε πανταχοῦ καὶ τὸ γεωργικὸν καὶ<sup>2</sup> πολιτικὸν καὶ τὸ μάχιμον παρακεῖσθαι· πλέον δ' εἶναι θάτερον, τοτῆς εἰρήνης οἰκεῖον, ὥσθ' ὅλων ἐπικρατεῖ τοῦτο,

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ, Tyrwhitt, for καὶ II. Madvig also independently.

<sup>2</sup> τε, Madvig deletes, before πολιτικόν.

considered as soon as they get good administrators  
 take the case of the Greeks though not very  
 maintain and much they need to be happy  
 because they have brought in the good government  
 for the arts and in general for the benefit of living  
 The Romans are more or less united that were  
 nations of savage living in the regions they in-  
 habited because those regions were either very ar-  
 id or very fertile or very cold or for some other reason  
 and it is true that they were not only  
 brought into contact with each other by the  
 war and the conquest but also by the commerce  
 and the trade under the form of government that  
 is of course that is just and has a temperate  
 climate has nature to cooperate with her toward  
 those results for while in a country that is blessed  
 by nature extending roads to make a more agreeable  
 route and the roads lead to make the work  
 easier and the journey and in both kinds of  
 country to give the people from each other for the  
 other helps out with the better with products of  
 the soil with arts and with manufactures. But  
 the harm that comes from each other if they  
 are not united in peace is an epidemic and the  
 might of those who are accustomed to carry arms  
 will have some advantage as well as the number and  
 the weapons. However the government has a more  
 and enough to meet it and as for the value  
 of the conquest with political movements in that  
 throughout its entire extent the economical and  
 commercial will take by side with the war  
 achievement but of the two elements the one that  
 is more winning is more numerous and there is more  
 control over the whole body and the leading

προλαμβάνοντες καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Ἕλληνας  
μὲν πρῶτον, Μακεδόνας δὲ καὶ Ἰωμαίων ὑστέ-  
ρον. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ πρὸς  
πόλεμον αἰταρεσιωτή ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μαχίμον  
πλήθος ἀφθονοὺς ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἐργαζόμενον τὴν γῆν  
καὶ τὰς πόλεις συνῆκεν. διαφέρει δὲ καὶ ταύτη,  
διότι τοὺς ἀσπρῶν ἐκφίλει τοὺς κριστόντας καὶ τοὺς  
ἀναγκαίους τῇ βίῃ καὶ μεταλλά ὅσα χρῆσιμα.  
θυμὰτα δὲ καὶ λῆθου πολυτελεῖα ἐξυθεῖν μάτε-  
ρ, ὥς τοῖς σπαριζομένοις εὖ εἰς χεῖρας ὁ βίος  
ἐστί· ἢ τοῖς εὐπορομένοις, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς βοσκη-  
μάτων μὲν πολλῶν ἀφθονίαν παρέχει, θήκων δὲ  
στεινὴν. ταύτη μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονία αὐτῇ καθύλου τῇ  
φύσει ἐστί.

27 Κατὰ μέρος δ' ἐστὶ πρώτη παρὰ τὴν ἰστέρας ἡ Ἰβηρία. Βύρση βοῖα παραπλησίως τὴν ἐκ τῶν τραχυλεμένων μόνον ὑπερκαπνιστῶν οἷς τῆς συνεχῆς Κελτικῆς ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς δεξ., καὶ τούτοις εὐαποτεμνῆται το πλεονον ἰσως ὄρος ἡ καλουμένη Πιρηνή ἡ δ' ἄλλη παρὰ ἑστὶ περικλυτός τῇ θαλάττῃ, τὸ μὲν νότιον τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς μάχοι Στελλῶν τὰ δεξιά τῇ Ἀτλαντικῇ μετὰ τῶν Σαρμῶν ἄκρως τῆς Πιρηνῆς μήκος δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐστὶ παρὶ ἐξακισχιλίους σταδίους το μαγιστον, πλεονον δὲ πεντακισχιλίους.

34 Μετά δὲ ταυτην εἶπεν ἡ Κελεύκη πρὸς  
 τοὺς μαθηταίους· Ὁ Πέτρος, τὸ μὲν ῥηθὲν πλεον-

<sup>1</sup> The words *wei wei*, *sui sui* are occasionally omitted by learners, as in the Chinese *Lian Lian Tiao Tiao*.

Dübner, following.

<sup>1</sup> & 1/2 qt. corn, Flouke, Stebenkon, Cornin, following  
gr. for abn.

nations, too—formerly the Greeks and later the Macedonians and the Romans—have taken hold and beaped. And for this reason Europe is most independent of other countries as regards both peace and war, for the warlike population which she possesses is abundant and also that which tills her soils and builds her cities secure. She excels also in this respect, that she produces the fruits that are best and that are necessary for life, and all the useful metals, while she imports from abroad spices and precious stones—things that make the life of persons who have only a scarcity of them fully as happy as that of persons who have them in abundance. So, also, Europe offers an abundance of various kinds of cattle, but a scarcity of wild animals. Such, in a general way, is the nature of this continent.

27. If, however, we look at the separate parts of it, the first of its countries, beginning from the west, is Iberia, which in shape is like an ox hide, whose "neck" parts, so to speak, fall over into the neighbouring Celtica, and these are the parts that lie towards the east, and within these parts the eastern side of Iberia is cut off by a mountain, the so-called Pyrenees, but all the rest is surrounded by the sea, on the south, as far as the Pillars, it is surrounded by our Sea, and on the other side as far as the northern headlands of the Pyrenees, by the Atlantic. The greatest length of this country is about six thousand stadia, and breadth, five thousand.

28. Next to Iberia towards the east lies Cætica, which extends to the River Rhone. On its northern

ρος τῇ Βρετανίᾳ ἐλυζομένη πορθμῷ παύει  
 ἐπιπλεῖται γὰρ αὐτῇ παραλλήλος ἢ ὅπως αὕτη  
 πάσα πᾶσι, μικροὶ ἔσσι περὶ αἰσχίλιον ἐπὶ  
 χύσσει το δ' ἐκείνου τῇ Ἰννῳ ποταμῷ περὶ  
 γραφομένη, παραλλήλος ἔχοντι το ρεύμα τῇ  
 Π., οὖν το δὲ ρεύμα το μὲν ταῖς Ἀλφονσι το σπυ  
 του Ἰννῳ το δ' αὐτῇ τῇ καθ' ἑμας θαλάττῃ.  
 καθ' ἡ χύσσει ἡ καλεῖται Ἰαλαττίας κολῶσι  
 ἐπὶ αἰσθίται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Μασσαλία το καὶ Ναρβῶν  
 Ἰβριταί παλαιὴ ἐπιφαινοῖσται, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῇ  
 αὐτῇ τουτῷ κατ' ἀπετροφῆν ἑτέροις κολῶσι  
 οὐραῖασι αὐτῇ καλεῖται Ἰαλαττίας ἑλκῶν  
 εἰς ταῖς ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τῇ Βρετανίᾳ ἐνταῖθα  
 ἐν καὶ ἐκτετατοῦ λαμβάνει τὸ πλάτος ἡ Κελτία  
 αὐτοῦσται γὰρ οἱ ἰσθμοὶ ἐκτετατοῦ καὶ ἡ - οὐσ  
 χίλιον σπείων πλάτους ἢ ἡ ἀσχιλίου  
 μεταξὺ ἐν ἐστὶ μαχίε ὁρίεσθαι πρὸς ὁρίον τῇ Πυ  
 ρρῳ, τὸ καλεῖται Κελτικὸν ἔσσι τέλεινα ἐν  
 ταῦτα αὐτῇ μεσσηντα το Κελτικῷ πείρα τῶν ἐν  
 Ἀλφονσι ἡ ἐστὶν ὁρίον σφ' ἑρὰ ἐνταῖθα σπείωντα  
 ποταμῷ ἡ γραμμῇ το μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐστραπῆαι  
 πρὸς τὸ λοχῆντα τῶν Κελτικῷ πείρα καὶ το Κελ  
 κῆν ἔσσι τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ Ἀγγλίας καὶ  
 τῇ Ἰαλίας ἔσσι ἐν αὐτῇ σπείρα το ἔσσι  
 τουτῇ Κελτίας πρὸς τῇ Ἀγγλίας οἶτοι δ' ἑτέροι  
 σπείρα καὶ αὐτοῖς, παραλλήλως ἐν ταῖς βίαις τῇ  
 μόνται ἐν μερῶν τῇ Ἀλφονσι το αὐτοῦ τοῖς  
 Ἀπεννίνους ἔσσι, μέγας ἐν τῇ καὶ τῇ Ἀπεννίνους  
 ὁρίον κατεχονσι ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὁρίον μαχίε ἐν

· οὐκίνα, Οὐκίνα, ἐν οὐκίνα; Καθίνα, Ναρβῶν, Μασσαλία, Ἰβριταί, Ἰαλαττίας.





ταῦ μάλιστα ἔλου τῆς Ἰταλίας διασπομένης ἀπο  
 τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ μεσημέριαν, τελειώσα δ' ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Σικελικὸν πελάγεα.

22) Τῆς δ' Ἰταλίας ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέρος  
 τὰ ὑποπιπτόντα τῆς Ἀλφειοῦ περὶα μέχρι  
 τοῦ μυχου τοῦ Ἀἰρίου καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τούτων  
 τὰ δ' ἐξ ἧς ἀκρὰ στεγνὴ καὶ μακρὰ χερσόνησος  
 ζουσα, δι' ἧς, ὡς εἶπον, ἐπὶ μικροὶ τέταται το  
 Ἀπυρρινὸν ὄρος δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αἰσχυλίων σταδίων,<sup>1</sup>  
 πλείους δ' ἀνωμαλόν ποιεῖ διὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν χερ  
 σήσας τε τὰ Ἰορρητικῶν πελάγεος ἀξιωματὸς ἀπο  
 τοῦ Λιγυρτικοῦ καὶ τὸ Ἰόνιον καὶ τὸ Ἰόριον.

23) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἑλκτικήν  
 τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐστὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἡ ἕκτα  
 τιμῆται τῇ Ἰστικῇ ποταμῷ φέρεται δ' αὐτὸς  
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπείρας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Εἰξέτιον  
 ποταμὸν ἐν ἑριστράδῃ ἔκτισεν τὴν τε Ἰερμακίαν πόλιν  
 ἀσφαμέντην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ρένου καὶ τὸ Ἰστικόν ποτα  
 μὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰρηντινόν καὶ Βασταρτὸν καὶ Σαίρον  
 ποταμούς μέχρι Τασαίδος ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς Μαιω  
 τικῆς λίμνης ἐν Ἀζίᾳ δὲ τὴν τε Ἡράκην ἀσπίδα  
 καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίαν, ἁρπύνη δὲ καὶ τελειύεται τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα. περικύβηται δὲ πῖσος τῆς Εὐρώπης δι'  
 ὅσους ἔξω μὲν Σηθλῶν Ἰσθμίου τε καὶ Καπυ  
 τανίας καὶ Βρεττανίας ἐστὶς δι' Ἀττικῶν αἰτὸ  
 Γυμνατικῆς καὶ ἄλλης νησιῶς Φοκίων καὶ τὰ  
 τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν καὶ Λιγυρῶν καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς  
 Ἰταλίας μέχρι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νησῶν καὶ τῆς Σικε  
 λίας, δεξιὰ τε τοῦ τῆς Ἠπειρώτης καὶ Ἑλλάδος καὶ  
 μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης χερσονήσου.

σταθμ., Γαλλο ἑκατὸν, ἀπὸν ὀνομαζόμενος ἰσθμῶς

17

whole length of Italy from the north to the south and ending at the Strait of Sicily.

29 The first parts of Italy are the plains that lie at the foot of the Alps and extend as far as the head of the Adriatic and the regions near it, but the rest of Italy is a narrow and long promontory in the form of a peninsula through which, as I have said, the Apennines extend lengthwise for about seven thousand stadia, but with varying breadth. The seas that make Italy a peninsula are the Tyrrhenian which begins at the Ligurian Sea, the Ausonian, and the Adriatic.

30 After Italy and Sicily come the remaining, or eastern portions of Europe, which are cut in two by the Ister River. This river flows from the west towards the east and the Euxine Sea; it leaves on its left the whole of Germany which begins at the Rhenus, a large country of the Cretans, and the country of the Sarmatians, Bastarnæ, and Sarmae as far as the River Tanais and Lake Maeotis, and it leaves on its right the whole of Thrace, Lydia, Asia, Ionia and Asia Minor, Greece. The islands which I have already mentioned lie off Europe, outside the Ister, (such as the Cassiopea, and the Britains, islands) and inside the Ister, the Cretanæ and other little islands of the Thracians,<sup>1</sup> and those of Massæa and Liguria, and the islands off Italy up to the islands of Sicily and to Sicily, and all the islands round about Euxine and Greece and as far as Macedonia and the Thracian Chersonese.

<sup>1</sup> §§ 18-21 (above).

<sup>2</sup> As a river system, which with the Olynthus, form the Isterian lakes. See § 21.

31 Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ταυριῶς καὶ τῆς Μαιωτι-  
δος τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἔντος τοῦ Ταύρου  
συνεχῆ, ταύταις δ' ἔξω τὰ ἔκτος διαιρουμένης  
γὰρ αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ἔμοις τοῦ Ταύρου ἔ. γ. α. ἑα-  
τείνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Παμφυλίας ἐπὶ  
τὴν ἰσάν θάλατταν κατ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοὺς ταύτη  
Σελβαὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἀρκτοὺς κατευκὲς τῆς  
ἡπείρου μέρος καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληες ἔντος τοῦ  
Ταύρου, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐκ τῆς τὰ δὴ  
συνεχῆ τῇ Μαιωτιδὶ καὶ τῇ Ταυριδὶ μερὴ τα-  
ῖς ἔντος τοῦ Ταύρου ἐστὶ ταύτων δὲ τὰ πρῶτα  
μὲν τὰ μετὰ τῇ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης ἐστὶ καὶ  
τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταύρον καὶ  
τοῦ πελάγον τελευτῶντα τὸν τε ἔξω καὶ τὸν τῆς  
Τραπεζίας θαλάττης τῇ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν, καθ'  
ὃ ἐγγυατέον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ Πόντου  
ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ἴκοντα τὰ ἔντος τοῦ Ταύρου  
τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τραπεζίας μέχρι πρὸς τὴν κατὰ  
Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Σελβας ὀνὲ ταύτην<sup>1</sup> θάλατταν καὶ  
τὸ ἰμαῖον ὄρος ταύτῃ δ' ἔχουσι τὰ μὲν πρὸς  
Μαιώται Σαυροματαὶ<sup>2</sup> καὶ αὖ μετὰ τῇ Τραπε-  
ζίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ  
Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν Σαυρομάται καὶ Σελβαὶ  
καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Λυγροὶ καὶ Ἠλιοχοὶ, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ  
τῆς Τραπεζίας θαλάττης Σελβαὶ καὶ Τραπεζοὶ καὶ  
Παρθυσιοὶ καὶ Βυκτριοὶ καὶ Σοδιῶνοὶ καὶ τὰλλα  
τὰ ἐπικείμενα μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς  
πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δὲ τῆς Τραπεζίας θαλάττης ἐκ μερὸς

<sup>1</sup> μὲν, Jones inserts.

<sup>2</sup> ταύταις ταύταις ἴ. ε. ταῖς ἐν ἑαυτῇ.

<sup>3</sup> I have not taken as the ed. reading Μαῖοι Σαυρομάται  
and deleted the names after Αλβανῶν, Porphyry approving.



καὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πάντες μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τοῦ Ποταμοῦ τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας ἢ πλεῖστη κρίται καὶ Κολχίη καὶ Καππαδοκίη συμπεσασα μέχρι τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου καὶ τῶν Τιβαρηνικῶν ἑθνῶν, ὅτι δὲ ἡ ἑνὸς Ἄλριοι χώρα λεγόμενη, περιέχουσα πρὸς μὲν τῇ Ποτῷ καὶ τῇ Προποπτιδὶ Πισφλαγίας τε καὶ Βιθύουσι καὶ Μυσσίαι καὶ τῇ ἐφ' Ἑλλησποντῷ λεγομένῃ Φρυγίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Τρωάς, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ἀίγαίῳ καὶ τῇ ἐφεξῆς θαλάττῃ τῇ τε Ἀϊολίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ Ἰακκίᾳ καὶ Λυκίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογίᾳ τῇ τε Φρυγίᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶ μέρος ἡ τε τῶν Γαλλογραικῶν λεγόμενῃ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἡ Ἐπιετήτος, καὶ Λυκαόνος καὶ Λυδοῖς

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32 Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τοῖς ἐντέροι τοῦ Ταύρου οἱ τε τὰ ὄρη κατεχόμενα Παροπαμισαδαί καὶ τὰ Παρθιαίων τε καὶ Μηδῶν καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Κιλικίων ἔθνη καὶ Καππαδοκίαι καὶ Πισιδαί, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἄρουνται ἐστὶ τὰ ἔκτος τοῦ Ταύρου, πρώτη δ' ἐστὶ τοιούτων ἡ Ἰνδική, ἔθνος μέγιστον τῶν παύτων καὶ εὐχαιμονότατον, τελειώων πρὸς τε τὴν ἄψαν θαλάτταν καὶ τὴν νοτίαν τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς ἐν δὲ τῇ νοτίᾳ ταύτῃ θαλάττῃ προεκτεταὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς νησοὶ αἰεὶ ἐλαττωρ τῇ Βρετανικῇ ἢ Ταυροβυρῇ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἰσπέρια πενοῦσιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχουσιν τὰ ὄρη χώρα ἐστὶ συχνή, φάουλαι οἰκομένη διὰ λυπεροτήτων ἀνθρώπων τελευτῇ βαυδαμένων οὐχ ὁμοθυμῶν καλοῦσι δ' Ἀρκανοῖς, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρῶν διατηρουμέναις

<sup>1</sup> i.e. after καὶ Ptolemy deletes αὐτῶν τοῖς ὄρεσιν

<sup>2</sup> Καππαδοκίαν, Σικανικήν, ἢτ' Ἀρκανοῖς, possibly followed.

between this sea and the Pontus lie the greater part of Armenia, Carthia, the whole of Cappadocia up to the Euxine and to the Thracian seas, and also the so-called Cæ-Hæire country, which embraces first next to the Pontus and to the Propontis, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia the so-called "Phrygia on the Hellespont" of which the island of Lesbos is secondly next to the Aegean and to the sea that forms its circumference, Arcadia, Ionia, Cæcia, Lycia, and Caria, and the interior Phrygia of which both the so-called "Caria of the Cæcæ" and "Phrygia Ephetæa" form a part, Lycæonia, and Lydia.

32 Following immediately upon the Cæ-Tærran proper we come the peoples that inhabit the mountains<sup>1</sup> the Parthians, the tribes of the Parthians, of the Mæda of the Armenians and of the Læmans, and the Cæthians and the Chians. Next after the mountaineers come the Tærran regions. The first is Tærra India<sup>2</sup> which is the greatest of all countries and the largest in extent, a region whose coasts reach both to the eastern sea and to the western sea of the Atlantic. In the southern end of the coast of India lies an island, Taprobane,<sup>3</sup> which is not less than Britain. Then, if we turn from India toward the western regions and keep the mountains on our right we come to a vast country which, owing to the poverty of the soil furnishes only a wretched livelihood to men who are wholly barbarians and belong to different races. They call this country Asia, and it extends from the mountains

<sup>1</sup> "Phrygia Arcæa", the name given to some Phrygia by the Hægætiologists. <sup>2</sup> *Strabo* II, 4.

<sup>3</sup> The full description of India, see II, 1, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ceylon.

μέχρι Γαβρυσίας καὶ Καρμαίας. Ἰβη δὲ αἰσι  
 νται μὲν τῇ θαλάττῃ Πα. καὶ Σουεῖοι καὶ  
 Βαυλιώνιοι, καθέκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ Πέρσαι  
 θαλάτταν καὶ τὰ περιεκοῦντα τούτους ἴβη  
 μικρά πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ὄψεσιν ἢ ἢ αἰτίαις τοῖς  
 ἔσσι Παρθύσιοι καὶ Μ. τοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι καὶ  
 τὰ τούτοις προσχωρῶν ἴβη καὶ ἡ Μεσοποτα  
 μία μετὰ δὲ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τὰ ἔσσι Ρί  
 φραται ταῦτα δὲ ἴβη καὶ το εἰδαιμὸν Ἀραβία  
 πρὸς ἀφορίζομένη τῇ τε Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ τῇ  
 καὶ τῇ Περσίᾳ, καὶ ἴβη καὶ Σαυίται καὶ καὶ  
 Φιλαχοὶ κατέχουσιν αἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἰβήρατος καθέ  
 καστος καὶ τοῦ Σ. οἱ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου  
 καὶ τῶν μέχρι Νείλου, Λιβυῶν τε καὶ Ἀραβίαι,  
 καὶ αἱ μετ' αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτῶν καὶ Σύροι καὶ  
 Κιλικίαι οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ καὶ Τραχειώται λεγόμενοι,  
 τελευταῖοι δὲ Πανφίλοι.

33 Μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἴβη καὶ Λιβύη, συν  
 εχούσας οὖσα τῇ τε Αἰγυπτῇ καὶ τῇ Λιβυῖᾳ, τῇ  
 μετ' αὐτῇ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ εὐθείᾳ ἔχουσας, σχιζού  
 ναι μέχρι Σιγλῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρξάμενης,  
 πρὸς τῶν Σιγλῶν καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τῇ  
 ἐπιστροφῇ μετὰ καὶ τῶν τούτοις<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τῇ  
 ἀνατολῇ εὐθείᾳ τῇ δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀπὸ τῇ  
 Λιβυῖᾳ μέχρι τῶν οἱ καὶ τῇ παραλλήλῃ οὖσα  
 τῇ πρὸς τῇ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνεχομένην ἀπὸ τῶν  
 πρὸς τῇ μετὰ καὶ οὖσα ἀπὸ, μετὰ δὲ Σιγ  
 λῶν πρὸς τῇ καὶ πρὸς τῇ τῇ πρὸς τῇ

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the reading of Q, for αἱ, as Goodenough, Krueger, Müller,  
 Delbosc and V. have.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. πρὸς τῇ καὶ πρὸς τῇ (πρὸς τῇ καὶ πρὸς τῇ; De Tiedt,  
 Tiedt, Tiedt; Tiedt and Tiedt).





τὸ σχῆμα. ἔστι δ' ὥσπερ οἱ τε ἄλλοι θηλοῦσι  
καὶ ὅη καὶ Γυνίος Παισων ἡγεμον ὑπομένους τῆς  
χωρᾶς διηγεῖτο ἡμῶν, τοικυῖα παρβαλῆ κατα-  
στικτος γιν ἔστιν οἰκήσεσι περιοχομένης ἀνδρῶν  
καὶ ἔρημῃ γῇ· καλοῦσι τε τὰς τοιαύτας οὐκισίς  
Λυσσεῖς οἱ Λύγυπτιαι· τοιαύτη δὲ οὔσα ἔχει  
τινὰς ἄλλας διαφορὰς τριχῇ διαιρουμένης· τῇ  
μὲν γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραλίαις εὐδα μὲν ἔστιν ἡ  
πλειοστὴ σφοδρά, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ Κυρηναία καὶ  
ἡ περὶ Καρχηδονία μέχρι Μαυρουσιῶν καὶ τῶν  
Ἰοσαελαίων στηλῶν· οἰκεῖται δὲ μετρίως καὶ ἡ  
παρωκεανίτις, ἡ δὲ μεσηφανίτις ἡ τοσιλφίον φέ-  
ρουσα, ἔρημος ἡ πλειοστὴ καὶ τραχεία καὶ ἄμμο-  
δης· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πεποιθεὶ καὶ ἡ ἐπ' εὐθείας ταυτῇ  
διὰ τε τῆς Αἰθιοπίας διέκουσα τῆς τε Τρωγλοδυ-  
τιτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Γεδρωσίας· τῇ  
τῶν Ἰχθυοφαγῶν· τιμᾶται δ' ἔθνη τὴν Λιβύην  
τὰ πλείστα ἄγνωστα οὐ πολλὴν γὰρ ἐφοδισθῆαι  
συμβαίνει στρατοπέδους οὐδ' ἀλλοφυλοῖς ἀνέροι-  
σιν, οἱ δ' ἐπιχωριοὶ καὶ ἐλιγοὶ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἀφικ-  
νοῦνται πορρωθέν, καὶ οὐ τισ' αὖ εὐδα πάντα λε-  
γόντων· ὁμοῦ δ' οὖν τὰ λεγόμενα τοιαυτὰ ἔστι  
τοὺς μὲν μεσημβρινωτάτους Αἰθιοπίας προσεγο-  
ρευμένοι, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ ταυτοῖς τοὺς πλείστον  
Γαμαστῆς καὶ Φαρουσίαι καὶ Λιγυρίται, τοὺς  
δ' ἔτι ὑπὸ ταυτοῖς Γαιτούλοι, τοὺς δὲ τῆς θαλάτ-  
της ἔγγυς ἡ καὶ ἀπτομένους αὐτῆς πρὸς Αἴγυπτον  
μὲν Μαρμαρίδας μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίας, ὑπὲρ δὲ  
ταυτῆς καὶ τῶν Συρτῶν Ψύλλους καὶ Νασαμῶνας



καὶ τῶν Γαιταύλων τινάς, εἰτ' Ἀσβύστας καὶ Βιζακίους μέχρι τῆς Καρχηδονίας πολλή δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Καρχηδονία· συνιπτοῖσι δ' οἱ Νομάδες αὐτῇ τούτων δὲ τοὺς γεωριματάτους τοὺς μὲν Μασυλιεῖς, τοὺς δὲ Μασαισιλίους προσαγορεύουσιν· ὕστατοι δ' εἰσὶ Μαυρουσιοί. πᾶσα δ' ἡ ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνης μέχρι Σιτηλῶν ἐστὶν ευδαιμων, θηριοτροφὺς δέ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ μεσογαμία πᾶσα. οὐκ ἀπεικός δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ Νομάδας λεχθῆναί τινας αὐτῶν, οὐ δυναμένους γεωργεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων τὸ παλαιόν· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἅμα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς θύρας διαφέροντες, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσλαμβανόντων πρὸς τοῦτο διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν τὴν περὶ τὰς θηριομαχίας ἑμφοτέρων περιγίγνονται καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς γεωργίας. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡπειρῶν λεγόμεν.

34. Λοῖπον εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κλιμάτων, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ ἔχει καθολικὴν ὑποτυπώσιν, ὁρμηθεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν γραμμῶν ἐκείνων, ἃ στοιχεῖα ἐκαλίσμεν, λέγω δὲ τῆς τε τοῦ μήκος ὑφορίζουσης τὸ μέγιστον καὶ τῆς τὸ πλάτος, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλάτος. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀστρονομικοῖς ἐπὶ πλέον τοῦτο ποιητέον, καθάπερ Ἰππάρχος ἐποίησεν. ἀνέγραψε γάρ, ὥς αὐτὸς φησὶ, τὰς γεγενημένας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις διαφορὰς καθ' ἕκαστον τῆς γῆς τόπον τῶν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς τεταρτημορίῳ τεταγμένων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ μέχρι τοῦ βορείου πόλου. τοῖς δὲ γεωγραφοῦσιν οὔτε τῶν

<sup>1</sup> 34, Jouan, for 31.

and then Asbians and Persians whose territory reaches to east in Carthage. The territory of Carthage is large and beyond it comes that of the Numids. The best known of these are called some of them Massinians and others Masmagians. And last of all come the Maurians. The whole country from Carthage to the Pillars is fertile though full of wild beasts so it was the whole of the interior of Libya. But it is not unlikely that some of these peoples were also called Numids for the reason that in early times they were the able to cultivate the soil on account of the multitude of wild animals. But the Numids of today not only excel in the art of hunting and in maintaining a hard strife with them on account of their fierceness for fighting with wild animals but they have mastered tanning as well as the other. This term is what I have to say about the continents.

34. It remains for me to speak about the climates which is a subject of great importance and a general study having to do with at times what I have called continents. Greatly to be feared that more of the greatest length and breadth of the inhabited world but more particularly the breadth in Asia and Africa, of course must treat this subject more at length than as Herodotus has treated it. For as he was not a geographer he did not treat aspects of the continents as far as the different regions of the earth that are found in our Earth.<sup>2</sup> I mean the regions between the equator and the north pole. The geographer however need not busy himself with what lies outside of our

<sup>2</sup> Numidians.

<sup>2</sup> See 2, 1, 18.

<sup>1</sup> See 2, 6, 5.

ἴθω τῆς καθ' ἑμῆς εἰσουλόμενης φροντιστέας  
 αὐτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μετέπειτα  
 τοιαύτας καὶ τοσούτας διαφορὰς παραδιδόντων  
 τῇ πολιτικῇ περιουσίῃ γὰρ εἰσιν· ἀλλ'  
 δοκεῖ τὰς σήμετέρας καὶ ἀπλουστεῖας δεῖν  
 εἶναι τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ λεγόμενων, ὑποβιβάντων  
 ὡς τὰς αὐτῶν, εἶναι τὸ μεγέθει τῆς γῆς σταδίων  
 εἰκοσι πέντε μυριάδων καὶ διαχιλῶν, ὥς καὶ  
 ἡμετέραν ἀποτίθωσι· αἱ μάλιστα γὰρ παρὰ  
 τοὺς ἴσους διαφορὰ πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐν ταῖς  
 μεταξὺ τῶν οὐρανῶν διαστημάσιν· οἱ ἔπειτα ἐκ  
 τριακοσίων ἑξακοντῶν τμημάτων τῶν τοῦ μεγίστου  
 τῆς γῆς κυκλῶν, ὅσας ὑπερκοσίων σταδίων ἔχει  
 ὅλη τῶν τμημάτων τοιαύτη γένηται μετὰ πρὸς  
 τὰ διαστήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ λεγόμενῃ διὰ Νέσσου  
 μεσημερίῃ καμψυμένῃς μέλλουσα· οὐκοῦν καὶ  
 δεῖν ἐλκεῖται ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσημερίῃ οὐρανῶν,  
 καὶ λοιπῶν αἱ ἐκ ὑπερκοσίων σταδίων τὰς ἐφεξῆς  
 αἰτήσεις ἔτιωσιν κατὰ τοῦ λεγόμενου μεσημέρι, οὐ  
 περὶ ταῦτα λεγόντων παρὰ ἑκάστοις φαινόμενα· καὶ  
 ὅτι αἱ ἐπιτελεῖται ἡ αἴτιος· καὶ γὰρ οἱ εἰρησικῶς  
 ταῦτα εἶναι ὥστερ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὁδῶν γὰρ οἱ  
 ἀποκρίματα αὐτῇ εἶναι διὰ μέγεθος τῆς κοίτης τοῦ  
 πλυνῆτος ὑπερκοσίων, οὐκ αἶψα μέρος τῆς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς ἀποκρίματος· οὐδὲ γεωγραφικῶς ἐκτετασμένη  
 τῆς μήτης τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀποκρίματος· αὐτῇ δ'  
 ἀφομοιοῦται παρὰ τοιαύτη μετὰ τῇ διὰ τῆς Κίτης  
 μεσημέρι καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς· οὐκοῦν καὶ τῇ διὰ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς διὰ τὰς τοσούτας αἰτήσεις ἐκτετακτοῦ, ὅσας ἔχει

καὶ C. G. M. inverting, αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπερκοσίων, M. G. following;  
 C. M. G. approving.

## GEOGRAPHY. 1 1 24

[illegible]

γορεύει τὸ λεχθῆν μεταξύ διάστημα, οὔτε πάντα  
 τα φατομενα βεβαια, μεμνημένοις του γεωγρα-  
 φικῷ σχηματος ἀμικτον δ', ὥσπερ Ἰππαρχος,  
 ἀπὸ τῶν νοτιῶν μερῶν

33 Φησὶ δὲ ταῖς οἰκίσαις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκ τῆς  
 Κιναμμοφοροῦ παραλλήλῃ, ὅς ἀπέχει τῇ  
 Μεροῦ τρισχιλίους σταδίους πρὸς νοτον, τοιούτου  
 δ' οἰσημερινοῦ κατασχιλίους καὶ οκτασσιονε,  
 εἶναι τὴν οἰκίσαις ἐγγινύτω μέση τοῦ τοῖς ἰσημε-  
 ρικοῦ καὶ τοῦ θερινοῦ ἡροτικοῦ του κατὰ Σινηην  
 ἀπέχειν γὰρ τὴν Σινηην πεντασχιλίους τῆς  
 Μεροῦ παρὰ δὲ ταύταις πρῶτοις τὴν μικρὰν  
 ἀρκτον δλην ἐν τῇ ἀρκτικῇ περιχεσθαι καὶ ἡε  
 φασισθαι τὸν γὰρ ἐκ ἀκρας τῆς οἰμης λαμπρὸν  
 ἀστὲρα, νοτιωτάτων ὄντα, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἔλυσθαι τοῖς  
 ἀρκτικοῦ πελάγῳ, ὥστ' ἐφύπτεσθαι τοῦ ὀμζόντος  
 τῇ δὲ λεχθόντι μεσημῃ, ἐν παραλλήλῳ πρὸς  
 πηρακείῃσι ἑωθεν ὁ Ἀραβίος πελάγος τοιούτου δ'  
 ἐκβάσεις εἰς τὸ ἐξω πύλαγος ἡ Κιναμμοφοροῦ  
 ἐστίν, ἐφ' ἧς ἡ τῶν ἐλαφιστῶν γετον θ ρα τὸ  
 παλαιον. ἐκπίπτει δ' ο παραλλήλῳ οἶτος τῇ  
 μετ' ἐπὶ τοις νοτιωτίστοις μερὲς τῆς Ταπροβάρης  
 ἡ ἐπὶ τοις ἐσχατοῦς οἰκονταε, τῇ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ  
 νοτιώτατα τῆς Λιβύης.

36 Τοις δὲ κατὰ Μεροῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίδα τῇν

<sup>1</sup> The arctic circle as referred to by Strabo was a variable circle and may be regarded as being a system of circles of the form which has for its centre the true pole and for its radius the distance of the pole from the horizon. At the equator of course, the observer has no arctic circle and this is why arctic circles are not mentioned at that point. As he proceeds toward the north pole his arctic circle expands, so





ἐν τῇ Τρωγλοδυτικῇ ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ὥρῶν ἰσημεριῶν ἐστὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἐστὶ δ' αὕτη ἡ αἰκησιε μίση πῶς τοῖ τε ἰσημερινοῦ καὶ τοῦ δι' Ἀλεξανδρίας παρὰ χιλίου καὶ ὀκτακοσίους τοὺς πλεονάζοντας πρὸς τῷ ἰσημερινῷ· διηκεῖ δ' ὁ διὰ Μερυτῆ παραλλήλος τῇ μὲν δι' ἀγνωριστῶν μερῶν, τῇ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀκρῶν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐν δὲ Σύνηρ καὶ Βερουκῇ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἀραβικῷ κόλπῳ καὶ τῇ Τρωγλοδυτικῇ κατὰ θερμὰς τροπὰς ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ κορυφῆς γίγνεται, ἡ δὲ μακροσποτὴ ἡμέρα ὥρῶν ἰσημερινῶν ἐστὶ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμικοίου. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀρκτικῷ φαίνεται καὶ ἡ μεγάλη ἀρκτος ὅλη σχιῶν τε πλὴν τῶν σκελῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀκρου τῆς οὐρᾶς καὶ ἵκος τῶν ἐν τῷ κλεινῇ ἀστέρων ὁ δὲ διὰ Σύνηρ παραλλήλος τῇ μὲν διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γεῖρωσιαν καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς διηκεῖ, τῇ δὲ εἰς τῶν νοτιωτέρων Κυρηνης πεντακισχιλίους σταδίοις παρὰ μικρόν.

37 Ἀπασὶ δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ κείμενοις τοῦ τε τροπικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ κυκλου μεταπίπτουσιν αἱ σκιαὶ εἰς ἑκατέρα, πρὸς τε ἀρκτοὺς καὶ μεσημβρίαν, τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ Σύνηρ καὶ τοῦ θερικοῦ τροπικοῦ πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς πίπτουσιν αἱ σκιαὶ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν· καλοῦνται δ' οἱ μὲν ἀμφ.σκιόι, οἱ δ' ἑτεροσκιόι. ἔστι δὲ τίς καὶ ἄλλη διαφορὰ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς τροπικῆς, ἣν προειπομεν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ζωνῶν λογῇ, αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ διαμμος<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Madvig, for ἐν αὐτῇ Σύνηρ.

<sup>2</sup> αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ διαμμος, Madvig, for αὕτη τε γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ διαμμος.

in the country of the Tringaites, the longest day has twelve equinoctial hours, and this is the exact opposite to the winter season, the winter and the summer that runs through Alexandria the state of the equinox being summer, winter, winter, summer. And the passage through Meroë joins on to the same length of summer, winter and the winter through the capes of India. At Syene at Meroë on the Arabian Gulf and in the country of the Tringaites the sun stands in the zenith at the time of the summer equinox and the longest day has twelve and not ten equinoctial hours, and so it is one of the great lines of division in the universe with the exception of the equator. As the passage through Meroë joins on to the same length through the country of the Tringaites to Trifurca and thence into and up to it, and so through the region that we named Six thousand stadia south of Cyrene.

In all the regions that lie between the tropic and the equator the shadows fall in both directions, the shadows here and there toward the south, but changing at the regions of Syene and the summer tropic the shadows fall toward the north of course, and the inhabitants of the latter region are called Antiochians, and of the latter Meroëans. There is no other distinctive characteristic of the regions beneath the tropic which I have not named, where in speaking of the series,<sup>1</sup> namely, the sun itself is very

<sup>1</sup> See the equinoxes, here mentioned at page 285.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the equinoxes. Meroë to the equator is 12,000 stadia, and the equator to the tropic is 12,000 stadia.

<sup>3</sup> See 1st book, and see 1st 1st.

<sup>4</sup> 1st 1st.

καὶ εὐλιφιοφύητος καὶ ἔτι οὖν τῶν νοτιωτέρων μερῶν  
εὐλιφύων τε καὶ εὐκάρπων ἔντες.

35 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοῦ δι' Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ  
Κυρήνης νοτιωτέραις ὅσον τετρακοσίαις σταδίοις,  
ὅπου ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα πρὶν ἔστω ἰσημερινὸν  
δεκαεπτάρων κατὰ κοινὴν γινώσκουσιν οὐκ οἶον,  
μικροῖς καὶ μὲν πρὸς νότον ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ  
ἔτι πρὶν λαγὼν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἰσημερινὴν σκίαν,  
δύο ἔχει τὰ πεντε πρὸς τρία<sup>1</sup> Καρχηδόνος δὲ  
νοτιωτέροι εἰς χίλους καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους,  
εἴτερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι οὐ γινώσκουσιν λαγὼν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν  
ἰσημερινὴν σκίαν, δύν ἔχει τὰ ἑνδeka πρὸς τὰ  
εἴς α. ὁμοίως δ' οὐ παρὰλληλόν οὔτος τῇ μετὰ διὰ  
Κυρήνης καὶ τῶν νοτιωτέρων Καρχηδόνος ὅσον  
πολλοὺς σταδίους, μέχρι Μαίονουσας μάλιστα, τῇ  
δὲ διὰ Λιβυπτοῦ καὶ Κοιλῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς ἀνω  
C 124 Σιρίας καὶ Βαθυλυσίας<sup>2</sup> καὶ Σουσιυβότος, Περ-  
σίδος, Καρχηδόνος, Λέρονος καὶ τῆς ἀνω μέχρι τῆς  
Ἰνδικῆς.

36 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Πτολεμαίδας τὴν ἐν τῇ  
Φωνικῇ καὶ Σιδωνίᾳ<sup>3</sup> καὶ Τύρῳ ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα  
ἔστω πρὶν ἰσημερινὸν δεκαεπτάρων καὶ τεσσάρων  
τοῦ θοραιοτέρου ὅτι οἱ οὔτοι Ἀλεξανδρείας μετὰ  
πρὸς χίλους εξακοσίους σταδίους, Καρχηδόνος δὲ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> *Peria Ousein* is for *Peria* and *Peria* following.

<sup>2</sup> *Bathylus* is for *Bathylus*, *Meconia*, *Greenland*, *Peria* etc. C. M. or *Peria* etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Adria*, *Meconia*, for *Sidonia*, C. M. or *Peria*.

<sup>4</sup> *Peria* is on the basis of the name given Alexandria's latitude as 31° 30' and its distance from the equator as 31° 30' of the circle. Of course figures based on such a ratio are only approximations. Hipparchus gives 31,800. Let a vertical

mostly a thickening and dry where the  
regions to the south of it are well watered and very  
fruitful.

34 In the region approximately four hundred stades farther south than the point through Alexandria and Cyrene where the signal day has first been observed, Antinous stands in the south though he declines to be toward the south. At Alexandria the position of the noon of the signal day to the shadow on the day of the equinox is as this is there. But the region is certainly in turn hundred stades farther south than Alexandria if it be true that at Alexandria the position of the noon to the shadow on the day of the equinox is as even to even. But our point through Alexandria seems to be one direction through Cyrene and the region some hundred stades south of Cyrene and east of Mauritania and, on the other direction it passes through Egypt, Cyrenaica, Lycia, Bithynia, Thracia, Persia, Carmania, Lygia, Gedrosia, and India.

[illegible]

The diameter of the bore was 10" to 12" which corresponds to a distance of 22" to 24" from the top of

I do a portion of my route by the mountain through which there were once great hot springs. And from my camp at 10,000 feet I can see the peaks of Mt. Elbert, one of the highest peaks above the mountains near Denver.



farther north than Carthage. But in the Peloponnese, in the regions about the centre of Sicily, about latitude of Libya or a little south of Venus and also in the regions four hundred stadia south of Syracuse. Here lies the longest day has fourteen and one half equinoctial hours. These regions are three thousand six hundred and forty stadia distant in latitude from Alexandria, and according to Eratosthenes it is parallel runs through Laris, Lycania, Latania, Media, the Caspian Gates, and the parts of India along the Caucasus.

4. At the Alexandria in the land and the regions thereabout at Amphipolis at the Apollonia in Egypt and in the regions south of Rome but north of Neapolis the longest day has fifteen equinoctial hours. This parallel is about seven thousand stadia north of the parallel through the Alexandria in Egypt and more than twenty-eight thousand eight hundred stadia distant from the equator and three thousand four hundred stadia distant from the parallel through Rhodes and one thousand five hundred stadia south of Byzantium. Near Massina, and the regions thereabouts and a little north of it is the parallel through Ircumachia, which says Ptolemy, passes through Myra, Paphlagonia, Sinope, and the regions thereabouts, Hyrcania, and Bactra.

5. At Byzantium and the regions thereabouts the longest day has fifteen and one quarter equinoctial hours and the rate of the sides of the sun dial to the shadow at the time of the summer solstice is that of one hundred and twenty to forty-two minus one fifth. These regions are about four thousand nine

ὅ αἱ τόποι οὗτοι τοῦ διὰ μέσης τῆς Ῥοδίας περὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους, τοῦ δ' ἰσημερινοῦ ως τρισμυριαὺς τριακοσίους εἰσπλάύσασι ὅ εἰς τὸν Πλοκτος καὶ προελθούσῃ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀραιὰς ἕως χιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα γίνεται ὥρῃς ἰσημερινῶν δεκαπέντε καὶ ἡμισυ· ἀπεχόμεναι δ' αἱ τοιαυτοὶ ἴσων ὥσπερ τοῦ πολοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ κυκλίου, καὶ οἱ ἀρκτικὸς κυκλὸς κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἐφ' οὗ κεῖται ὅ τ' ἐν τῇ τραχιλῇ τῆς Κασσιωπέας καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ἀγκῶνι τοῦ Περσέως μακρῷ βορειότερος ὢν.

42. Ἐν τε ταῖς ἀπέχουσι Βιζαντίου πρὸς Ἄρκτον ἕως τρισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστίν ὥρῃς ἰσημερινῶν δεκαεξ' ἡ οὖν διὰ Κασσιωπείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἀρκτικῇ φέρεται. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ τοιαυτοὶ περὶ Βορυσθέτη καὶ τῆς Μαιωτιδος τὰ νοτία· ἀπεχόμεναι δὲ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ περὶ τρισμυριαὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἑκατόν· ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀραιὰς τοπὸς τοῦ ὀριζήσαντος ἐν θλάει σχεδόν τι ταῖς θερμαῖς συζὶ παραυγάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀπὸ δυσέως ἕως καὶ ἀνατολῆς ἀντιπερισταμένου τοῦ φωτός· ὁ γὰρ θερμὸς τροπικὸς ἀπέχει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀριζήσαντος, ενός ζωλίου ἡμῶν καὶ δωδεκάτου τοσούτου οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀφίσταται τοῦ ὀριζήσαντος κατὰ τὰ μεσοκυττιον· καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ τοσούτου τοῦ ὀριζήσαντος ὑποχωρὼν πρὸ τοῦ ὀρθρου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑσπεραν ἤδη κατ'αυγάζει τοσὸν περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἢ τὴν δύσιν ὅσον· ἐν δὲ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ὁ ἥλιος τὰ πλείστον μεταωρίζεται πηχέας ἑπτά.

hundred stadia distant from the parallel through the centre of Iliaca and about thirty thousand three hundred stadia distant from the equator.<sup>1</sup> If you go into the Pontus and proceed north fourteen hundred stadia toward the north the longest day becomes fifteen and one half equinoctial hours. These regions are equidistant from the pole and from the equator, and have the arctic circle in the north and the star on the neck of Cassiopeia on the arctic circle while the star on the right knee of Perseus is a little north of it.

§2 In the regions about three thousand eight hundred stadia south of Hyantium<sup>2</sup> the longest day has fifteen equinoctial hours, and therefore Cassiopeia moves on the arctic circle. These are the regions about the Borethnos and the western parts of Lake Maendis and they are about thirty four thousand one hundred stadia distant from the equator. There the northern part of the arctic circle is daily illumined by the sun throughout almost the entire night in the summer; the sun's light making a reverse motion<sup>3</sup> from west back to east.<sup>4</sup> For the summer tropic is seven twelfths of a zodiacal sign<sup>5</sup> distant from the horizon, and according to the sun at midnight is just that distance below the horizon. And in our own regions also when the sun is so far as that face the horizon before sunrise and after sunset it comes to the sky in the east and in the west. And in those regions in the winter also the sun attains an elevation of at most nine cubits.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, a latitude of  $45^{\circ} 15' 30''$ .

<sup>2</sup> A little over modern Kizilirmak. <sup>3</sup> Compare 2.1.13.

<sup>4</sup> That is, a circle of  $120^{\circ}$  or  $180^{\circ}$  or  $360^{\circ}$ .

<sup>5</sup> The astronomical value of the arc was two degrees.



φησὶ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης τούτους τῆς Μιρόνης διέχειν μικρῇ πλείοντι ἢ δις μυρίους τριαχιλίους, διὰ γὰρ ἑλλησποντου εἶναι μυρίους ὀκταεπισχιλίους, εἴτα πενταεπισχιλίους εἰς Βορυσθένη. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπέχουσι τοῦ Βυζαντίου σταδίου περὶ ἑξαεπισχιλίους τριακοσίους, βορειότεροι οὖσι τῆς Μαιωτιδος, κατὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς ἡμέρας μεταωρίζεται τὸ πλείστου ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ πῆχεις ἑξ, ἡ δὲ μαγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὥρων ἰσημερινῶν δεκάεπτά.

43. Τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα, ἤδη πλησιάζοντα τῇ αἰοκήτῃ διὰ ψυχρῶς, οὐκέτι χρῆσιμα τῇ γεωγραφῇ εἰσὶν. ἃ δὲ βουλευμένοι καὶ ταῦτα μαθεῖν καὶ δεῖν ἄλλα τῶν οὐρανίων Ἰσπαρχος μὲν εἶρηκεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παραλείκομεν διὰ το τραυότερα εἶναι τῆς νῦν προκειμένης πραγματείας,<sup>1</sup> παρ' ἐπείνου λαμβανόντων. τραυότερα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν περισκείων καὶ ἀμφισκειῶν καὶ ἑτεροσκειῶν, ἃ φησι Πτολεμαῖος. ὁμοίως γὰρ καὶ τούτων τό γε τοσούτου ἐπιμνηστέον, ὥστε τὴν ἐπίνοιαν διασαφῆσαι, καὶ πῇ χρῆσιμον πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν, καὶ πῇ ἀχρηστον. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου σκιῶν οὐ λόγος ἐστίν, ὁ δ' ἥλιος πρὸς αἰσθήσιν κατὰ παραλλήλου φέρεται, καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ κόσμος, παρ' οἷς καθ' ἑκάστην κοσμοῦ περιστροφὴν ἡμέρα γίνεται καὶ νύξ, ὅτε μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς τοῦ ἡλίου φερομένου, ὅτε δ' ὑπὲρ γῆν, παρὰ τουτοῖς οἱ τε ἀμφίσκιοι ἐπινασύνται καὶ οἱ ἑτερόσκιοι. ἀμφίσκιοι μὲν, ὅσοι κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> πραγματείας, Ἰσπος, ἰστ πραγματείας.

Erasthones says that these regions are a little more than twenty three thousand stadia from Mæne since the distance from Mæne to the parallel through the Hebræus is sixteen thousand stadia, and thence to the Ilerithæ is five thousand. In the regions about six thousand three hundred stadia distant from Hydruntum north of Lake Mæotis, in the winter days, the sun attains an elevation of at most six points, and there the longest day has seventeen equinoctial hours.

43 Since the regions beyond already lie near territory rendered unusable by the cold, they are without value to the geographer. But if any one wishes to learn about these regions also, and about all the other astronomical matters that are treated by Hipparchus but omitted by me as being already too clearly treated to be discussed in the present treatise, let him get them from Hipparchus. And what Posidonius says about the Peræians and Amphicarians and Heterocarians<sup>1</sup> is too near to be repeated here. Nevertheless, I must mention these terms at sufficient length to explain the idea and to show where and to what use they are in geography and wherein wrong. Now since the point in question concerns the shadows cast by the sun, and since on the evidence of our senses the sun moves along a circle parallel to the revolution of the universe, it follows that, wherever each revolution of the universe produces a day and a night, because at one time the sun moves beneath the earth and at another time above the earth, the people are thought of as either Amphicarians or Heterocarians, or Amphicarians, all

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to 85°, 70°

<sup>2</sup> See 2. 2. 3 and 2. 5. 37.

μέσον ἡμέρας τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τὰδε πιπτοῦσας ἔχουσι τὰς σκιὰς, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ γνώμονι προσπίπτῃ τῷ ὀρθῷ πρὸς τὰ ὑπακείμενον ἐπίπεδον, τότε δ' εἰς τοῦναντίον, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τοῦναντίον περιστῇ· τοῦτο δὲ συμβέβηκε μόνοις τοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν οἰκούσιν. ἑτερόσκιαι δ' ὅσοις ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον αἰεὶ πίπτουσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμῶν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ νότια, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἑτερᾷ εὐκράτῳ ζωνῇ οἰκούσι· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει πᾶσι τοῖς ἐλάττωνα ἔχουσι τοῦ τροπικοῦ τὸν ἀρκτικόν. ὅταν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἢ μείζονα, ἀρχὴ τῶν περισκίων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν οἰκούντων ὑπὸ τῷ πόλῳ. τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου καθ' ὅλην τὴν τοῦ κόσμου περιστροφὴν ὑπὲρ γῆς φερομένου, δηλονότι καὶ ἡ σκιά κύκλῳ περιενεχθήσεται περὶ τὸν γνώμονα. καθ' ὃ δὴ καὶ περισκίους αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεισεν, οὐδὲν ὄντας πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι οἰκήσιμα ταῦτα τὰ μέρη διὰ ψυχῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Πυθέαν λόγοις εἰρήκαμεν. ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς οἰκῆτου ταύτης φροντιστέον ἐκ τοῦ λαβεῖν ὅτι οἱ ἔχοντες ἀρκτικὸν τὸν τροπικὸν ὑποπεπτώκασι τῷ γραφομένῳ κυκλῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πόλου τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ

<sup>1</sup> From the equator to 66° every man is either Amphiscian or Heteroscan.

<sup>2</sup> From 66° to 90°

<sup>3</sup> Strabo places the tropic of Cancer at 24° (4/60 or 24/360 of the greatest circle) and he places the beginning of the frigid zone at 66°. The radius of the tropic, therefore, is constant, and is 66°, while the radius of the arctic circle

whose shadows at noon sometimes fall toward the north namely when the sun strikes from the south the sides which is perpendicular to the horizontal surface beneath, and at other times fall in the opposite direction namely when the sun returns round to the opposite side this is the result for only those who are between the tropics, but as Heterio claims all whose shadows either always fall toward the north as is the case with us or a west toward the south, as is the case with the inhabitants of the other temperate zone. And this is the result for every man whose arctic circle is smaller than the tropic circle. But whenever the arctic circle is the same as or larger than the tropic there the Peruvians begin and they extend to the people who live beneath the pole. For since in those regions, the sun moves above the earth throughout the whole revolution of the universe, it is clear that the shadow will move in a circle round the sides of the sun dial and that is the reason why Ptolemy has called them Peruvians although they are now extinct so far as geography is concerned for all those regions are uninhabitable on account of the cold as I have already stated in my criticism of Pytheas. Therefore I need not concern myself either with the extent of this uninhabited region, apart from assuming that those regions which have the tropic arctic circle lie beneath the circle described by

is a variable, and is  $66^{\circ}$  or  $7^{\circ}$  when the observer stands at the beginning of the tropic zone. At  $66^{\circ}$  when the observer is within the tropic zone the radius is greater than  $66^{\circ}$  and when it is  $66^{\circ}$  it will be at the end of it. By the tropic arctic circle I now refer to the case when the arctic circle becomes equal to the tropic circle, namely, at latitude  $66^{\circ}$ .

## STRABO

κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου περιστροφὴν, ὑποκειμένου  
τοῦ μεταξὺ διαστήματος τοῦ τε ἰσημερινοῦ καὶ  
τοῦ τροπικοῦ τεττάρων ἑξηκοστῶν τοῦ μεγίστου  
κύκλου.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, the pole of the ecliptic, which daily appears to describe a circle in the heavens about the pole of the equator.

the pole of the zodiac<sup>1</sup> in the diurnal revolution of the universe—that is, on the hypothesis that the distance between the equator and the tropic is four-sixtieths of the greatest circle.

The projection of this circle upon the earth marks off the frigid zone, and is practically what we mean to-day by the term "arctic circle."



**A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF  
PROPER NAMES**





# A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES<sup>1</sup>

## A

**Aea**, a city of Media, conquered with  
the Achaia of Circe, 75

**Aegaeus**, a name of the  
Athenian king, the son of  
Athene, the son of the sea-god

**Aegle**, a Roman poetess  
of the 1st c. B.C. and per-  
haps the daughter of the poet

**Aegle**, the tragic  
poetess of the 1st c. B.C.

**Aegle**, a commander-in-  
chief of the Greek forces in the  
Trojan War

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., the famous  
lyric poet

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., the founder of Doric lyric  
poetry

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., 49, 240, 250, 247

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., the son of the  
sea-god

**Aegle**, the name of the 1st  
century B.C., the son of the  
sea-god

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., an Ionian philosopher, and  
perhaps the son of the sea-god

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., the son of the  
sea-god

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., the son of the  
sea-god

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., the son of the  
sea-god

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century B.C., the son of the  
sea-god

**Aegle**, a name of the 1st  
century B.C., the son of the  
sea-god

<sup>1</sup> A complete index will appear in the last volume.

## A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

1. Explain the importance of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the context of international trade and economic integration.

2. Discuss the role of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in regulating international trade and resolving trade disputes.

3. Analyze the impact of globalization on the world economy, including the benefits and challenges it presents.

4. Evaluate the effectiveness of international trade agreements in promoting economic growth and development in developing countries.

5. Compare and contrast the trade policies of major world powers, such as the United States, the European Union, and China.

6. Investigate the role of international trade in the development of the global financial system, including the impact of trade on foreign investment and capital flows.

7. Explore the relationship between international trade and the environment, including the impact of trade on natural resources and the environment.

8. Discuss the role of international trade in the development of the global labor market, including the impact of trade on employment and wages.

9. Analyze the impact of international trade on the world's poorest countries, including the challenges they face in integrating into the global economy.

10. Evaluate the role of international trade in the development of the global information economy, including the impact of trade on technology and innovation.

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the Foundation of Asilene, in four

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